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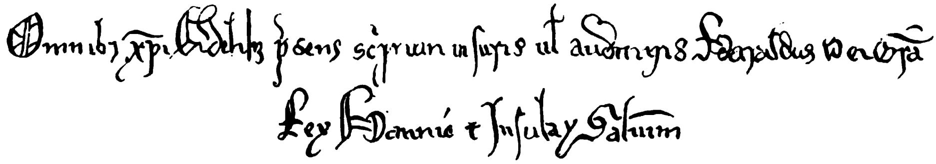

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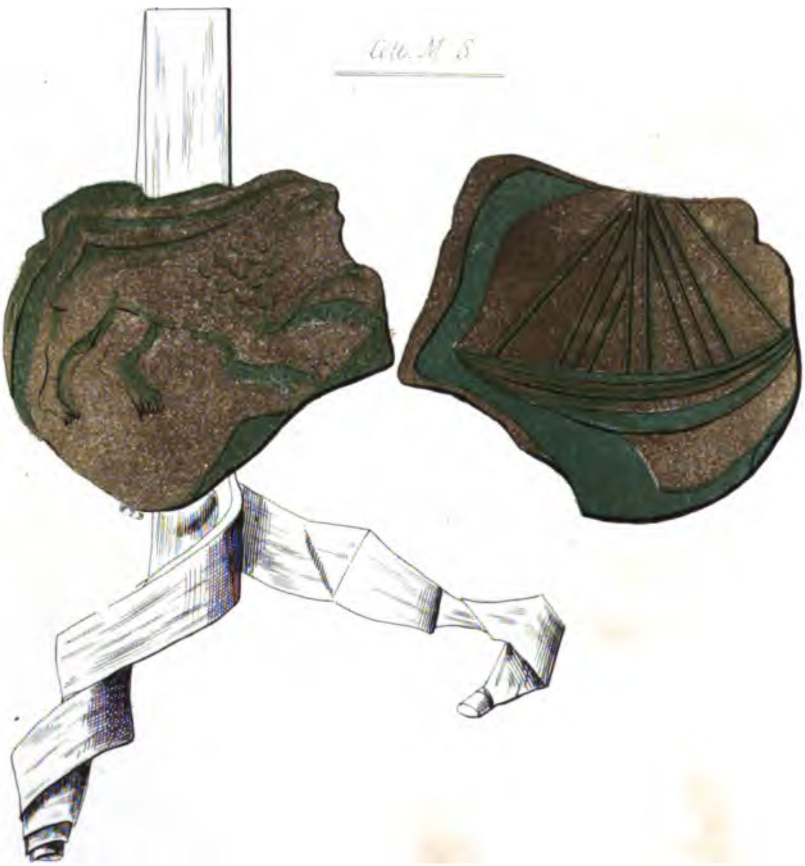

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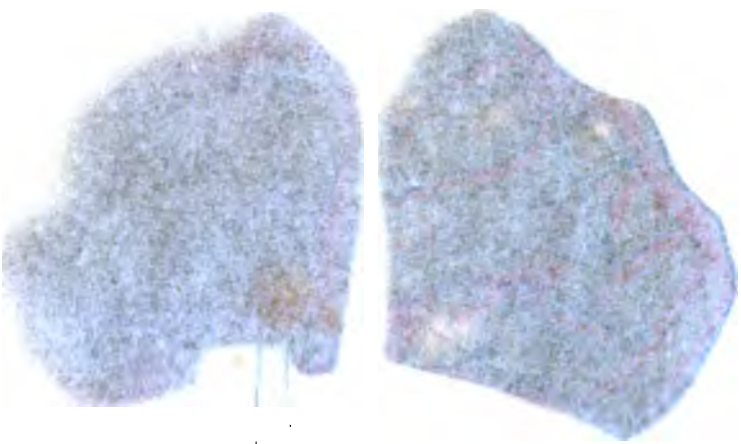

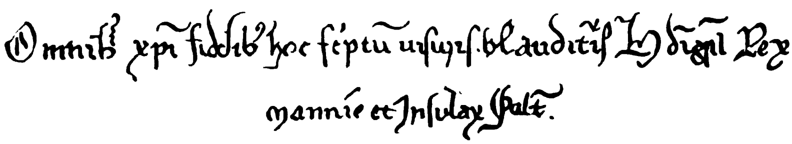

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Rex Manniæ et Insularum

SEAL OF HARALD KING OF MANN
A.D. circ. 1245.

VESTIGIA INSULÆ MANNIÆ ANTIQUIORA,

OR A DISSERTATION ON THE

ARMORIAL BEARINGS

OF THE

Isle of Man,

THE REGALITIES AND PREROGATIVES OF ITS ANCIENT KINGS,

AND

THE ORIGINAL USAGES, CUSTOMS, PRIVILEGES, LAWS, AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE MANX PEOPLE.

BY

H. R. OSWALD, ESQ., F.A.S., L.R.C.S.E.,

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF THE MANX SOCIETY.

Re tam vetustate difficile dictu est.

DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN:
PRINTED FOR THE MANX SOCIETY.
MDCCCLX.

Printed by H. CURPHEY,
13, King-street,
Douglas.

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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

THE accounts of the Isle of Man we find on record are, generally speaking, meagre and of a personal character; at every step we meet with inadequacy of information. We are supplied with a narrative of a few superficial events only. National history appears to have been held in little or no esteem by the historian. Even those narrations which are indubitably authentic have not been well understood, and, of course, not well discussed; although, during our connection with the ancient kingdom of the Isles of Scotland, Manx history was full of stirring incidents, which, even at the present day, are fraught with much ethnological interest, in reference to the surrounding nations, as well as to the great Celtic tribes of Europe.

The multitude of authors who have, from time to time, undertaken the task of giving accounts of the Island, have done so cursorily and without adequate study, or under the influence of feudal supremacy, and therefore have produced works not to inform the public, but to suit their own convenience or to serve the interests of their patrons for the time being. This deficiency of recorded facts is the greatest desideratum I have encountered in compiling this paper. Failing direct evidence therefore, I have

endeavoured to arrive at some conclusions by reasoning from analogy; but in endeavouring to give a record of all the facts in reference to the armorial bearings of the Isle of Man which I have met with, I hope I am not blind to the foregoing difficulties; for, perhaps, in tracing the bearings from modern times into remote antiquity, I run the risk of becoming tedious to the reader, and in reasoning on the feudal rights and prerogatives of the Kings of Man, or the constitutional privileges and usages of the people, their subjects, my anological disquisitions may not be devoid of anomalies. For I am well aware that an attempt to open up some abstruse points of Celtic ethnology will be incomplete. But I think the subject worthy of an attempt; and having once drawn the attention of the public to it, let me hope that the clew will be taken up by others more competent to perform the task, and the skein unravelled throughout its ramifications.

To some it may appear that the quaintness of the device of the three legs, and the insignificance of the territory occupied by the Manx people are such that a particular treatise is uncalled for; I believe that these opinions, and others similar to them, are the principal reasons why some particular questions of much interest to the Island have never been investigated, and why our history remains only a meagre record of the bloody and daring exploits of a few stirring men, or of the local enactments which law and usage have established in the country, without any attempt to explain their motives of action or their consequences: but every thinking mind must feel that however valuable the example of such persons may be, the history of a people or nation comprises more than these.

The device of the three legs "armed" is doubtless a *chimera,* and the Manx territory is certainly small, but it will be found in the sequel that the three armed legs, conjoined in *fesse,* is one of the first of those inventions, in times antecedent to history, which led the forlorn hope of progress in the earliest ages, although it deviates in appearance from what is strictly natural. Its simplicity and quaintness of appearance is a proof of its great antiquity and its originality: in the progress of invention, at all events, it has stood, the emblem of royalty and dominion in this small state, from times before all history; and there can be little doubt that having preserved the enjoyment of our immemorial rights, as an independent nation, compensate in a great degree for the deficiency in extent of territory and magnificence. The central and maritime position of the Island, and its being in all ages exposed to hostile invasion and aggressive colonization, give its limited territory an importance and an interest in reference to civilization, beyond that which arises from the mere possession of extent of territory and national power. Moreover, these arms of dominion assist us materially in making out the nationality of the Manx people. They involve the existence of facts which imply political and social existence of a tribe of Celts, feeble indeed numerically, but who must have frequently, in the first ages, stood in prominent positions among their neighbours and taken part in national complications, which a more powerful people might be justly proud of. Triumphs in civilization are implied here equal, if not greater, in an intellectual point of view, than triumphs in war.

Amidst many events in history, which have taken place from the time the ancient Phœnicians flourished to the golden age of Queen Victoria, a period of about three thousand years, we have

good reasons to conclude the Manx have maintained their nationality and the material of their civilization, domestic as well as social, against every foreign yoke and every intrigue hostile to their constitutional privileges that has hitherto made its appearance among them. This domestic civilization, having been established upon certain fixed principles of human intercourse, has never become abrogated or even much altered by subjugation in war or by any system of colonization in peace. Therefore it becomes very interesting to find out how this came about, —to trace out the races and principles from which Manx legislation sprang, and the sound usages and customs on which it is founded,—to lay open the spring of human affairs in Man, and of its laws so aged and unchanged.

From the times when the ancient British dressed themselves in the skins of wild beasts and painted their half-naked bodies with savage symbols; when the Phœnicians of Tyre and Carthage* traded with them for the metal tin; when their country was subdued by the legions of Rome; when the Anglo-Saxon and the Teutonic races colonized England; when the primitive converts to Christianity in England underwent persecutions from their invaders and took shelter in the western isles, introducing their religious precepts and habits of Christian civilization into the Isles of Man and Iona, under the Culdees; when the narrow seas of Europe were everywhere scoured by the warlike Danes and Northmen, and this Island and the Hebrides became the rendezvous of aggressive vikingr and freebooters of every nation; during all these ages of aggression, the Isle of Man was in the vortex and uncertainty of predatory warfare, or oppressed by the changes of

* *Vide* Appendix A.

progress, such as it then was; but it was permitted, notwithstanding, to preserve its individuality as a nation, and persevered in consolidating its customary usages into constitutional laws.

If we exclude lyrical poems and legends of tradition, the first specimen of Manx literature which has been handed down to us is the *Chronicon Manniæ*, by the monks of Rushen, commencing about the year 1065. Before that period short notices of the Island and its inhabitants had been made by authors foreign to the country, most of which, with many insular charters never before published, have been lately printed by the Manx Society, edited by their learned secretary Dr. Oliver, to which and others, in order to avoid repetitions, I beg leave to refer henceforth for all historical details, instead of copying extracts.

According to the *Chronicon Manniæ*, a Norwegian dynasty of kings, issuing with their Northmen from the Hebrides, established themselves on the Manx throne in 1066, and ruled it above two hundred years; but Manx civilization and nationality have passed through all the events of that era less changed than could have been imagined, the natives having adhered to their language and their ancient forms of government pertinaciously. Upon enquiry it will be found that even their conquerors and foreign rulers ultimately conformed to the laws and usages they found domesticated in the Island, and judging from existing circumstances, the Norwegians met with no success in introducing their language amongst the Manx, nor did their forms of government supplant the Manx usages, but only improved them, which is a conclusive evidence that a civilized code existed antecedent to their arrival. There is every reason to believe that this Island was well inhabited antecedent to history, although in

some accounts it is averred that it was visited by hostile invaders who found it desolate. Doubtless it is true that the natives were sometimes so hard pressed by danger that they abandoned their homes for a time, but as the Celtic race of Manx has never changed its character or its language, it is evident they returned or were succeeded by identical races. The Venerable Bede, who wrote in the middle of the eighth century, informs us that Man contained three hundred families, and during the invasion of the country of the Dalraed Scots by the ancient Romans, the Manx people materially assisted the inhabitants of Galloway and Strathclyde in the defence of their country.

It is interesting for us to trace the origin of our inheritance of the Tingvalla,—the original national assembly of the Celtic and Gothic tribes of Europe,—and especially interesting to find that although, in modern times, the legislative and judicial courts of the freest nations of the ancient Celts have disappeared before arbitrary power, and the Valhalla in Iceland and Scandinavia, and the Witenagemotts of Britain, have changed their form and aspect in modern England, that the primitive forms of Celtic legislation and their language still remains identical among a race of modern Celts in the Isle of Man, in the middle of Great Britain, at the present moment. And it is curious and important to the ethnology of the British Isles, that the change of dynasties which ensued from the conquest of England by William of Normandy, and of the Isle of Man by Godred Crovan, was effected at the same epoch, and that the accession of the Scots to the regalities of the whole of Scotland, by their amalgamation with the Picts in the reign of Donald Bane and Malcolm Caen More, only preceded those events a few years. Truly the eleventh

century was a stirring and eventful one for these countries. A general movement took place among them at that time; and it would appear that predatory warfare and colonization became, under the inscrutable wisdom of Almighty God, one of the appointed means of rousing the people of Britain and its Islands, when sunk under despotic and debasing superstitions, to enquire after a better knowledge of their rights as men, by an intercourse with the free and predatory vikingr of the sea. Stirring and generous minds take freedom by force and command men to be free, which, once made progressive individually, under wholesome control, advances more and more into constitutional liberty. Thus nations in the early stages of civilization become raised from helotism, and owe more to rulers and teachers of bold, generous, and benevolent minds than they are aware of. There is more of the vikingr' spirit and love of freedom and enterprize throughout the country now than is generally imagined.

THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

CHAPTER I.

ACCORDING to many authorities the ship in ruff sables constituted the ancient flag of Man. But "the three legs armed," or the *trie cassyn*, are at present the existing arms of dominion of the government, and have been so without question since the annexation of the western isles by King Alexander III. in the thirteenth century (1266), when heraldic records of the three legs are first found. Although there can be no doubt that the ship was the flag of the Norwegian kings during the period they reigned in Man, yet it is nearly equally certain that the *trie cassyn*, after having been used from time immemorial, became the sole armonial bearings of Man after the departure of the Northmen, which will appear, I trust, in the following pages. The present Manx arms are emblazoned thus: "Gules, three legs armed, conjoined in fesse at the upper part of the thighs, flexed in triangle, garnished and spurred, or." Motto, "*Quocunque jeceris stabit*;" "It will stand wherever you may throw it," or "Wherever cast we will stand" or "go."—*(Plate* i, *fig.* 1.*)*

Woods, in his *History* (1811), says, "The old arms of Man were a ship with the sails furled, and the motto *Rex Mannia et Insularum*"—*(Plate* v, *fig.* 2.*)*

In the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article Heraldry, the three legs, as borne by the most noble John, Duke of Atholl, Lord of Man and the Isles, is thus stated: "Gules, three legs armed, proper, conjoined in the fesse point at the upper part of the thighs, flexed in triangle, garnished and spurred, or." On the south-eastern angle of the front of Castle Mona, lately the residence of the Atholl family, near Douglas, the same emblazonment is displayed, having for supporters two sea nymphs and surmounted by a naval crown, composing a very elegant coat of arms.—*(Plate* i, *fig.* 3.*)* This is the only instance I know of, where the *trie cassyn* alone in the shield is blazoned with supporters. It is one of the four escutcheons of the noble House of Atholl, on the sea front of Castle Mona, and occupies the left position, and is probably the most modern and correct emblazonment of the Manx arms extant; but is unknown to Clarencieux. Castle Mona was built by Duke John during the first year of the nineteenth century, and was opened in 1805? I certainly think that, to arms of dominion especially, supporters are an improvement in emblazoning the Manx arms.

ARMS OF THE BISHOPRIC OF SODOR AND MAN.

As in Sovereign States the temporal authority is represented by armorial bearings of dominion, so we find the bishopric in the Isle of Man represented by arms of community: therefore before proceeding with our inquiry regarding the banners of the ship and the *trie cassyn*, let me record the arms of the bishopric of Sodor and Man, after doing which we can proceed in a more intelligible manner to state the additional evidence which we may have been able to collect, and to lay before the Society an analysis of the subject. The arms of the bishopric as now emblazoned are, "upon three ascents the Virgin Mary* standing distended between two pillars, on the dexter whereof is a church, in base the *ancient arms of Man*," which in every case I have met with have been the existing arms of the Island—the three legs. Peter Haylin, 1671, places three crosses immediately beneath the

* Mr. French and others suppose this figure to be St. Bridget.

escutcheon. Some say that in Roman Catholic times *three crosses* was assigned to the Island and known by the name of the three crosses of Man. In a print of St. Germain's Cathedral, from Grose's *Antiquities of England,* three crosses are represented on the summit of that edifice.—*(Plate* ii, *fig.* 1.*)*

The arms of the Abbey of Rushen are a cross; those of the Nunnery of St. Bridget, near Douglas, a cross saltire.—*(Plate* ii, *figs.* 2 *and* 3.

I have been given to understand at the office of the Lion King at Arms that, immediately after the Scottish annexation of the Isles, and when Man became separated territorially from that bishopric, the Bishops of Sodor and Man assumed only an orle for their armorial bearing, and not the present bearing of our bishopric. This could only have arisen from the latter having declined to assume the same bearing that the Bishop of the Isles had, viz., " St. Columba in a boat at sea, pointing to a blazing star," and from their not having previously assumed any distinct and separate emblem or any motto as their armorial bearing. It follows that the present arms of the bishopric of Sodor and Man must have been assumed subsequently to the political separation of the two bishoprics, and that during the period they were united under the Norwegian dynasty both bishoprics displayed the same arms in common. In reference to the *trie cassyn,* this sort of inference does not appear to be necessary, for that emblem is found to have existed anciently, before as well as subsequently to the Scottish annexation of which we shall hereafter speak.

By noting records or traditions having a reference to the three legs and to the triquetra in general, wherever met with in accounts of middle ages or in ancient authors, and thereby accumulating evidence whenever found, I hope to be able to contribute towards satisfying the speculations and inquiries made by almost every one regarding the origin and derivation of this emblem; and towards tracing the ethnological relations which this small but central spot, the Isle of Man, hath had to the rest of the world, as well as to the countries immediately adjacent, in ancient times.

Manx families, unlike the modern possessors of the western Isles of Scotland, most of whom quarter the arms of dominion which descended from their feudal superiors, have not at any time adopted the arms of dominion of the Isle of Man, whether the ship or the *trie cassyn*, except such families as may have an immediate relationship to the modern Sovereign Lords of the Isle; therefore we cannot expect to acquire materials for our subject by any inquiry after the coats of arms of modern Manx families. In fine, there is a deficiency throughout the Island of recorded armorial bearings, whether ancient or modern; and without any elaborate attempt at chronological arrangement, I shall proceed to record all traditions, facts, and observations which I may have met with on the subject of the existing arms.

This national emblem has been transmitted down to us by public men in office and by authentic and constitutional influence; for, speaking generally, the Manx of the present age at least are singularly apathetic about their flag,—many of them appear to know nothing about it, and to take no interest in the matter. Generally the abrogines of Man call their flag the "*trie cassyn*," and tell us the tradition that it proceeded of old out of the Tynwald Hill, with a little man, who was Manninagh Mac-ee-Lheir, who rolled the emblem as a wheel before him; and they add, "that was before the Gorees' days, who were kings in Dalby, and before the Danes held Peel Castle."* Mac-ee-Lheir, according to the received, though, perhaps, fabulous history of the Island, was a paynim, which I suppose means a Druid or a Danish rover, for the ancient Saxon chronicle, noticing the piratical invasions of the Danes, so late as the ninth and tenth centuries, describes these invaders of England as pagans, who were often becoming Christians and receiving baptism at the hands of the Saxons. The wheel is an emblem distinctive of some of the pagan images of our Saxon ancestors, and also occurs on some of the coins or medals of the ancient Roman emperors. Verstegan represents Saetor or Troda, the representative of Saturday the last day of

* *Vide* Appendix B.

the week, as an image standing on the fins of a fish, and holding a wheel in his left hand, instead of which the Romans inaugurated the wheel of St. Catherine. The foregoing legend, given me by an aged Manxwoman, is one of the trite traditions which some who have a taste that way narrate, with a conviction that they are founded on fact, however much they do vary in detail. The late Rev. Mr. Fitzsimmons, in his MS. History of this Island, presented to the Society by Richard Quirk, Esq., says, "That ingenious and industrious antiquarian Col. Vallancy, gives an Irish tradition thus, 'Trifod Erin, Alban, ayns Mannin,' that is, 'Ireland, Britain, and Man are three branches of the same stock,' and that the three countries were once united, but separated by an act of Druidism. Was Alban the original name of the whole Island of Britain? Are the three symbolized by the triangle or triquetra, which we know always referred to a higher object? It has been alleged that the three legs have a reference to some triangular form of the Island or its headlands. But the shape of this Island is not by any means triangular, whatever that of Sicily may be." It is worthy of being remarked that the Manx have no memorial whatever of the ship, either in sculpture or tradition, in any part of the Island; unless the water-bulls, so much enlarged upon by Waldron, be considered personifications of that emblem, and intended to personify the bulkheads of ships.

Notwithstanding the total disappearance of the ship as the arms of Man, the learned Camden, (page 1060), speaking of the arms of the Island, after stating that "Thomas Randolph, a warlike Scot, as also a long time after, Alexander, Duke of Albany, stiled themselves Lords of Man, *and bore the same arms that the later Kings of the Island did*, namely, three armed legs of a man, linked together, and bending in the hams, just like the three legs naked which were formerly stamped on the coins of Sicily, to signifie the three promontories. Yet the antient arms of the Kings of Man was a ship with sails 'hoised,'* (Sir William

* *Velo complicato.*

Hol,) with this inscription *Rex Manniæ et Insularum*, as I have seen in the seals they used." Clarencieux (1858) also considers a ship under sail, or with sails hoisted, with the above motto, viz., King of Man and the Isles, the true arms of Man. Whereas Mr. William Anderson, Marchmont herald of the Lion Office, affirms that the only authenticated arms must be the three legs; others, if insisted upon, must be hypothetical, or at least *not recognized* by *extant records;*" and adds, "the ship in *rough sables, i.e.*, furled, must have been the armorial bearings of the Kings of Man and the Western Isles, during the time the Norwegians were paramount in our seas," or whilst they were the sovereigns of Man, for a period of about two hundred years from the conquest of the Island by Godred Crovan, 1066, till the Scottish annexation by Alexander III. (1266.) This may be considered beyond doubt from the charters of the Kings of Man and the Isles, just published as one of the works of the Manx Society. But the Marchmont herald states further, in reply to queries on these subjects, that the arms of the Isle of Man are blazoned thus: "Gules, three legs of a man, all proper, conjoined in the centre at the upper part of the thighs, flexed in triangle, garnished and spurred, or." Nesbit, in his *System of Heraldry*, published at Edinburgh, 1722, vol. I, p. 271, observes that these arms are often to be met with in the armorial seals of our (Scotch) nobility, and of those in England also, who have been dignified with the title of Lords of the Isle of Man, and gives the following examples:—(1) King James II. of Scotland created his second son Duke of Albany, Earl of March, Lord of Annandale and of the *Isle of Man*, upon which account he carried the arms of these dignities quarterly, 1, for Scotland; 2, for the Earldom of March; 3, for *the Isle of Man;* and 4, for the Lordship of Annandale. These arms were also carried by his sons, his successors in those dignities, and which are emblazoned in the *Ancient Heraldic Manuscript* of Sir David Lyndsay, of the Mount, King of Arms, 1542, p. 37; *Douglas Peerage*, vol. I, p. 58. This Duke of Albany was living between or about the years 1455

and 1487. And his son John, Duke of Albany, became Regent or Governor of Scotland during the minority of King James V., Anno 1515. And a fac-simile of a piece of gold coin at the period in *Andersonai Scotiæ Thesaurus,* fol. c, 2,111, inscribed "IOANNIS ALBANIÆ DVC GVBERN," dated 1524, and whereon the arms of the Isle of Man are indicated in the third quarter of his shield. He died in 1536, and in Nesbit's time his escutcheon was still in the College Church of Edinburgh. (2) Stanley, Earl of Derby and Lord of Man in England, as present proprietor of the Isle of Man (1722) quarters the same arms (Isle of Man) with his own, and (3) the Mac Leods quarter them as arms of *pretension,* with their own, upon account of their progenitors, who were proprietors and possessors of that Island; and McKenzie, Earl of Cromarty, by being come of an heiress of MacLeod, quarters these arms in his achievement. Nesbit further remarks, "I have nowhere met with any account of carrying such figures for that Island, but in Edward Bolton's *Elements of Armories,* where he says, These three legs represent the three corners, capes, or promentories of the Island,* which point to England, Scotland, and Ireland, and being equivocally relative to the name of Man, these legs are adorned as belonging to a chevalier, and he observes that from these ancient arms of the Island of Man, legs have crept into the bearings of many private families in England." "In order to satisfy the inquiry, if any other arms than those above described ever existed for the Isle of Man it may here be explained, that although the heraldic manuscript of Sir David Lyndsay bears date 1542, being the earliest known *record* of arms extant in Scotland, yet the armorial bearings emblazoned thereon are not to take their data from that year, as there are many of them well-known to have existed back to the eleventh century, so far as regards Scotland; for instance, the arms of 'Janet' *Margaret, qweyne* off *Scotland,* dochter to Edward, prince and heretour to Ingland, and of Agatha, doctors to Salomone, King of Ungarie, and spous to ye rigcht noble

* This refers to Sicily, for Man is not triangular.

prince, Malcolm III. Ceanmoler, between 1057 and 1093; and several others. Further, in the same record of Lyndsay, at p. 62, the arms of 'ye Lord of ye Isle of Man' are emblazoned along with three separate shields for *Makcloid, Lord of Lewiss;* the *Lord of Annanderdale of Auld;* and *Lord Bissart of Bewford of Auld.* From these circumstances it may reasonably be inferred, if not conclusive, that no known arms ever existed than those above described for or belonging to the Isle of Man;" for if the Island ever quartered the ship, Sir David must have known of it.—Marchmont herald, letter dated August, 1859.

Finally, in reference to the ship or galley, there can be no doubt that specimens of the seals of those Kings of Man which have been called the race of Godred Crovan, have been preserved and seen; *e.g.*, there was a seal of Godred in the Office of the Duchy of Lancaster, perfect in Camden's time, having his effigy on horseback on the reverse; a ship in ruff sables, with the motto *Rex Manniæ et Insularum,* on the obverse. This seal, when the deed was lately examined by Dr. Oliver, had disappeared; but he has been so fortunate as to discover two others among the Cottonian Manuscripts, in the British Museum, fast hastening to decay; *(Frontispiece)* they are pendant to two charters of Harold, in 1246, and probably now the only antique specimens of the ship of Man in existence, and were before unknown. These and other documents have been published this year in the transactions of the Manx Society, to which I beg leave to refer. Worsaes, in his late work *"Danes and Northmen,"* delineates the ancient arms of Norway to have been a ship, and it is generally known that the Scandinavian nations have also borne the eagle, variously emblazoned. From these statements it is evident that Clarencieux, Marchmont herald, and old Camden are at variance respecting the original and early armorial bearings of this little Island. Therefore I shall endeavour to throw some light on the question, by simply stating the rest of the evidence on both sides which I have been able to collect, without much regard to order or tautology.

The arms of the ancient Lords of the Isles of Scotland on record, (quoting Marchmont Herald) according to Sir David Lyndsay, of the Mount, Anno 1542, were, "Or, an eagle displayed, gules, armed (beaked and claws) sable, surmounted, of a lymphad of the last." You will observe that this emblazonment contains the original of several northern nations, ancient as well as modern, to wit, the ship, the eagle, and the hawk, or raven.

According to the same authority, the arms of the ancient bishopric of *the Isles* was an open boat at sea, with St. Columba in an attitude of prayer in it, and looking to a star, an emblem worthy of the devotional age of the Culdees of early ages in the west of Scotland. Many of the descendants of the Kings of the Isles and Princes of the Isles still quarter the galley with the other emblazonments to which their families have succeeded in process of time, deriving them, doubtless, from similar origins; on the bearings of several of them the sun in full splendour and the mountain in flames, appear.

The Duke of Argyle quarters the galley for Lorn; the Duke of Hamilton for the Isle of Arran does the same; these families are probably the descendants of Somerled and the Earls of Herergadthia. The latter flourished antecedent to Godred Crovan. Many other Scottish families quarter the ship and *some of them the three legs*. The MacLeods of Cadboll, and the MacLeods of Lewis, not only quarter the Manx *trie cassyn*, but use the same motto, *Quocunque jeceris stabit*, which I think clearly points out that the chiefs of that name are descendants from the Norwegian sovereigns of *Man* and the Isles, or some other Manx connexion. Indeed, the manner of their descent may be rendered very probable by consulting Manx history, for in 1187 Reginald, the illegitimate son of King Godred, having been elected king by the natives, to the exclusion of Olave, the lawful heir, granted him the Isle of Lewis or Lodhus, one of the largest of the Hebrides for his maintenance. Here Olave lived for many years and married, first a daughter of a nobleman of Cantyre, and secondly a daughter of Ferker, Earl of Ross; in the

48th year of his age he succeeded to the Kingdom of the Isles, and there can be little doubt that his descendants and the MacLeods mentioned either derived the three legs from him, or that he, on returning to *Man*, adopted and carried the ensign from Lewis, which is not at all likely, for all the MacLeods quarter the galley, as the rest of the *Principes Insularum* do, as their family bearing. In 1219 Reginald, the immediate predecessor of the same Olave, surrendered himself and the Isle of Man a vassal of the see of Rome. The seal is noticed in the deed of surrender in these words: "*Hac literas fieri fecimus et sigillo nostro munire.*" What Reginald's *sigillum* was I have no means of ascertaining. It may be asked here, was it the ship, or was it the *trie cassyn*, or did Reginald quarter both ensigns, one as the banner of the Scandinavian Princes of the Hebrides, the other as the ancient flag of the Isle of Man, as do the MacLeods of Rasay and of Cadboll, to the present time?

The numerous Highland families of distinction that occupy the west of Scotland who quarter the ship, still remain in possession of the territories identical with the ancient kingdom of the Isles, and some legends still exist demonstrative of the despotic powers and imaginary greatness of these princes. A daughter of the late MacNeill of Barra informed me, only ten years ago, that she had a perfect recollection from her childhood, of her father, then residing at Barra House, having such a pompous idea of his own royal descent and pretensions, that he never rose from dinner without ordering a herald to proclaim, from the summit of his tower or keep, as follows: "All the kings of the earth may now dine, for the Laird of Barra has dined." The ship borne by all these families has sails furled, whereas that of Man is stated by Camden to have had sails "hoised." But I think, as Camden spoke from tradition, this must be a mistake, for on the seal of Harold, 1246, the sails are furled, similarly to all the Lymphads of the kingdom of the Isles, and Olave, in his charter of 1134, who also displays the Lymphad with sails furled, designates himself simply "King of the Isles," without including Man in

his designation. It is therefore evident that the Kings of Man, of the time of Godred Crovan, considering themselves of Scandinavian and of Hebridean extraction, preferred using the arms of their original country rather than those of the Island they had subjected—the *trie cassyn*.

The MacLeod of MacLeod, who claimed to be the chief of the clan MacLeod, instead of MacLeod of Rasay, does not quarter the three legs with the ship as Rasay does. That is to say, he may be head of the MacLeods, but does not inherit any connection with the Lords of Man, whose ancient bearings are the three legs. The MacDonalds, the earliest chiefs of Islay and the original Lords of the Isles of Scotland on record, never quartered the three legs, and therefore I conclude that they did not lay claim to any of the genealogies of the Isle of Man, when the sovereignty of the two countries was united under the Scandinavian princes, by the conquest of Magnus Barefoot of Norway. This is an important distinction amongst families that adhere so accurately to their genealogy of race and family as Western Islanders generally do. It is evident that an identity of genealogy between the MacLeods of Rasay and of Cadboll, and the ancient race of Manx kings existed, more intimate than between those other families that do not quarter the three legs. This distinction clearly shows that each bearing had a separate and distinct existence in the united kingdom of Man and the Isles, and it is a fair inference, as I shall show hereafter, that each bearing had a separate existence before the sovereignties of Man and the Isles became united. Hence it follows that the *trie cassyn*, which I shall prove has been borne and quartered by noblemen of England as far back as recorded heraldry goes, was passed down to them in legitimate descent from Affrica, the female representative of Magnus, the last male descendant of the race of Godred Crovan or Cronan, (white hand), who was sovereign of Man and the Isles; to all of which it may be added that the Scotch themselves lay no claim to having imposed this device upon Man in token of subjugation; on the

contrary, according to Camden, they bore the same arms for Man that the kings had done before them.

Thus I have endeavoured to trace both flags from the present time into the antiquity of the middle ages: it must rest with the reader to decide whether a case has been made out, worthy of attention, and of sufficient importance to be further investigated. It is not my intention to dwell further in detail upon the ship as an armorial bearing, for that is familiar to every nation, from Egypt in the days of the Pharoahs, to the present time; but the three legs being a quaint old device, the origin of which is involved in intricacy, I will trace back its history as far as I can into *primitive and classical ages* also. I do so with the greater interest, having found traces of it in the most remote times of Phœnicia, Greece, and Rome, at periods when the original indentity of the Celtic race inhabiting the Deucaledonian Sea, Britain, Ireland, and Wales, Gaul, Spain, Carthage, Phœnicia, and other eastern nations, appears, by the etymology and sound of their language, to have been the same; in all probability many centuries antecedent to the appearance in these seas of the Danish and Scandinavian name, as a maritime nation from the north of Europe.*

Many collateral facts countenance this. The mercantile intercourse which the Phœnicians cultivated, in order to obtain the metal tin from the Cassiterides, as recorded by Pliny and other Roman historians, and the colonization of the South of Ireland by Phœnician merchants, and the difference of race, still manifest between the natives of the south and those of the north of Ireland, evidently imply that these merchants visited and perhaps colonized to a certain extent the Islands of the British Seas in primitive times, antecedent to the Vikingr of the Deucaledonian Sea. The Islands of the British Seas, from which the Phœnician merchants said they obtained the metal tin, which Pliny and Strabo describe as the Cassiterides, are not now to be readily found in the situation they point out. Different classic authors describe them

* *Vide* Appendix C.

as being situated in different localities. It would appear they were widely spread and numerous in the western seas of Britain, and the locality is not accurately defined by any author. There appears therefore to be grounds for a disquisition on the etymology of the word. It is thought by some who have studied the subject, that these merchants wished to conceal the source of their wealth, which could easily be done in those ages. Cassiterides was certainly a very imaginative name for ten islands on the coast of ancient Britain, where they cannot now be found. It is said to be derived from the Greek name for the metal tin or white lead. The derivation of the word from the *cass* or *cassyn* (a Celto-British word) is a more probable, a more desirable, and a less questionable derivation. The *trie cassyn* having been found delineated on the vases of ancient Greece and Rome, during the ages when the Phœnicians flourished, (as I shall presently show), it is quite consistent with our argument to give here a new etymology for the word Cassiterides. *Cass* in Celtic signifies a foot, *cassyn* signifies feet—also the legs; of which Cassiterides may be considered the plural number. The Phœnicians, who were addicted to myths, might say, we received it from those Islands whose emblem was the *cassyn*.* I hope, therefore, I shall be pardoned for dwelling for a few pages more on the history of the *trie cassyn*, in that direction. Indeed I have pledged myself in my exordium to this paper, to follow it as far back as I could.

In Moore's *Oriental Fragments*, published in 1832, the three legs are amongst the signs and hieroglyphics given by him as appertaining to India and the East. He places them in the same category as the *crux ansata* of the pillar of On, at Heliopolis. He points out etymological affinities between the Hindostani and the Celtic languages,—enters largely into the subject, on the grounds that community of languages implies community of origin amongst races,—and endeavours to show, from the etymology of many Greek, Phœnician, Celtic, and Hindostani

* I believe *Tripey* is the name for a three-legged stool amongst the Manx cottager to this day.

words and phrases, that those races sprang from the same source. William Buckhard Barker, in *Lares et Penates*, 1858, describing the terra-cotta fragments found in the ruins and mounds of *debris* of ancient Tarsus, notices, among many other fragments, a tripod table with chimera legs, also a chair of state with a well-formed chimera front; both these objects appear to have belonged to temples most probably dedicated to Apollo; but they carry us to a time antecedent to all history. The Phœnicians held Hector to be their patron and protector, and I am just about to notice that that champion of antiquity was associated with the three legs in more ways than one. Mr. Kneale, stationer, of this town, drew my attention to a vase of antiquity in the British Museum, with the three legs on it, and considered to be Grecian. This vase according to Dr. Oliver who has inspected it, has on its front the leg of a man, *coupè* at the thigh, most distinctly delineated, and on the reverse side the three legs, united at the top of the thighs, very distinct, which is said by antiquaries to refer to the going out of Hector to battle.—*(Plate* viii, *fig.* 1.*)* In describing the shield of Hercules,* Hesiod, the oldest of all poets, speaks of a tripod which was proposed as a reward in one of those contests wherein that hero always proved victorious. Now it must be borne in mind that in half-civilized ages the tripod was an object of veneration; it was the three-legged stool upon which the Pythoness of the Pagan temple sat when she delivered the oracles of her temple; indeed it was considered one of the causes of her sacred inspiration. Few emblems of a humble description would have been better calculated to create veneration among the half-savage votaries of heathen mythology.

It is not improbable that the academic tripods of the University of Cambridge may have some allusion to the improving influence of knowledge and literature in primitive ages. The tripod described by Hesiod some antiquaries think may have been the original of the *trie cassyn*, as represented on the vase spoken of. There is certainly a similitude between the two

* *Vide* Appendix D.

emblems, but whether or not, that suggestion by no means interferes much with the great antiquity of the *trie cassyn*, for which I am arguing. The relation of a few more facts will confirm this still further.

In the early ages of Greece, any victorious warrior of the race of Hector, who fought for civilization, safety, and justice was considered one of the Heraclidæ. The era of the original Hercules, and the apotheosis of his altars, is fixed by Thrasybulus at twenty-nine years before the taking of Troy. His shield was the gift of Jupiter, presented to him just before he began his twelve labours, which it would be out of place to notice farther; any emblem having reference to Hercules or his shield would be sure to find imitators; hence it is found that three naked legs have long been the arms of the Island of Sicily, which was frequented and colonized by Heraclidæ, and on no part of the shores of the Mediterranean were they so likely to leave their traces behind them. Syracuse, the ancient capital of Sicily, was, according to Strabo, founded by a colony from Corinth under Archias, and rose to be a place of much importance during the time of the Greeks. It is therefore probable that the device had its origin in Greece or Phœnicia. Upon nearly all the old coins of Sicily, with the three legs, I find the mottoes to be in Greek characters. Some of these have the legs above an Olympian race chariot, others under the horses, and not a few below a flying Pegasus.

In the Museum of Rouen is an Etruscan vase, upon which is portrayed the arms of the Isle of Man as they are at present emblazoned,—Gules, three legs armed, proper. It occurs on the shield of the principal figure, a warrior (probably Hercules) put *hors de combat* by a divinity. The motto is nearly illegible, but the word AΘENAIA is distinctly visible. In the British Museum there are many examples of the emblem on vases, coins, &c.

Mr. Fargher, proprietor of the *Mona's Herald*, has in his possession a brass coin or medal of Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, on which the three legs are distinctly seen beneath the

left hand and buckler of the soldier, and one leg *coupè* on the right of the winged figure (a Mercury*) who is in the attitude of crowning the warrior. This coin is delineated in the *Numismatic Atlas*, and is not a solitary example, for several others are to be found in the British Museum. Mr. Dean, engraver and photographer, has kindly presented me with a model of it. On the reverse side of the legs is the head and name of Agathocles, rather mutilated. Agathocles lived 290 or 317 years before Christ; so that this coin must possess an antiquity of nearly 2,200 years. From its great antiquity some persons are disposed to throw out doubts of its being genuine. I see no good reason for this. That such a man as Agathocles existed about that time is established by Plutarch in his *Lives of the most illustrious Men of Antiquity*, for in the *Life of Pyrrhus*, king of Epirus, he states that one of his wives was named Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles, and that he received with her the Island of Corcyra,† which her father had taken. Pyrrhus flourished about 300 years before Christ, which corresponds with the reign of the Tyrant of Syracuse. Here, therefore, we trace manifestly the *trie cassyn* directly from Syracuse and the Heraclidæ. Syracuse was founded by the Heraclidæ in the second year of the eleventh Olympiad.

The device has been long common in Italy, and found on the coins of Palermo, Messina, Saragosa, Catania, and other places, variously ornamented with little wings, which evidently refer to the heathen deity Mercury. The Sicilian emblem being always naked, and variously represented with heads and little wings on the legs, whereas that of Man is always armed and spurred, which is an important difference in heraldry, but which by no means neutralizes the affinity of the two. The tabaria or wings annexed to the ankles is reckoned one of the attributes of Mercury in the heathen mythology, and it is admitted that Mercury was the god of merchants, and held in veneration by them. What I contend for is that the *trie cassyn* was known to

* *Vide* Appendix E. † The modern Corfu.

the Phœnicians and the Heraclidæ when they frequented the shores of Britain, and has been armed and spurred by the heraldry of the middle ages, according to the prevailing fashion of the different ages. According to Phillipot, the device is emblematic of expeditions of a mysterious and adventurous kind, which is a most likely interpretation, for Mercury is said to have been the messenger of the gods. But there is as manifest a difference between naked and armed expeditions as between *naked* and *armed* legs in heraldry. For the latter is evidently as well calculated to be the flag of the warlike and predatory tribes who infested the Deucaledonian seas by their expeditions, as the naked legs were to be that of the Phœnician merchants who prosecuted their trade in classic ages, outside as well as inside the Pillars of Hercules.

The Rev. T. R. Brown, near Oundle, states that in Willis's *Current Notes* the three legs *bare*, after the manner of the Sicilian arms, are represented in Gesenius the historian, as an emblem over the figure of an ox at his manger, which he considered to be illustrative of the birth of Jesus Christ our Saviour. He thinks the three legs evidence of the presence of the Magi or Wise Men of the East on that occasion. It is not necessary to suppose that this illustration of Gesenius refers to the Isle of Man, for we have seen that it is an eastern emblem, as well as the arms of the Isle of Man in very early ages. Mrs. Thomas Wilson, of Ravenscliff, and her daughter, during their visit to Rome in 1855, discovered the three legs on the celebrated Etruscan Vases, the beauty of which, and their unknown antiquity, have rendered them celebrated as works of art throughout the world. These vases were considered relics of antiquity at the building of Ancient Rome, Ante Dominum 754, and now are unquestionable proof of the remote antiquity of the *trie cassyn* as an emblem and chimera. The Etruscan Vases are specimens of the high degree of civilization and of the arts in the cities of that ancient Etruria which philologists and antiquaries think took its origin from a Grecian or Phœnician colony.

Another representation of the legs is to be found upon a similar vase in the British Museum; it represents a combat between Hercules, two giants, and Minerva. The following is a description of the combat, from notes made on the spot:—Hercules attacks two giants; behind him stands Minerva; the hero girt with the lion's skin under which is a chiton (or coat) to the hips; he attacks a half-prostrate giant with his club; both giants are armed with a high-crested Corinthian helmet and angular buckler; the fallen giant has on his shield an ivy wreath, and the other giant a triquetra (triangle) of legs. I will not detain the reader by entering into archæological disquisitions and drawing conclusions from these data, but shall leave it to his own sagacity and taste to form his own opinion on the subject.

Thomas Boys, in his *Notes and Queries*, says, "It is worthy of observation, that there evidently existed some peculiar relation between the three legs and Mercury or Hermes," as well as Hector. Lower, in his *Chronicles of Literature*, says, "Some of the coins of Sicily bear an impress of the three legs, exactly similar to the fanciful charge of the Isle of Man, except that they are naked, and have at the point of conjunction a Mercury's head, and at the ankle the little wing." And Walsh, in his *Essay on Ancient Coins*, remarks, on a gem bearing the image of Mercury, "He has all the symbols of Mercury about him,—his wings, cap, and buskins, and his caduceus; but what distinguishes him most is his three legs."—(p. 60.)

The foregoing pages will, I hope, convey some correct ideas in reference to the question whether the ship or the *trie cassyn* were the true arms of Man. It appears that the Norwegian dynasty brought in the former with them from Norway and the Hebrides, and that the latter was imported, at a very early age, by colonists from the latitude of the Mediterranean Sea. Marchmont herald does not appear to have been aware, from records in Scotland, that the ship had ever become the bearings of the Island, from which we may infer that this Island had not been recorded as one of the Scottish Islands at the time heraldry was first

cultivated; that the ship fell into disuse when the Scots conquered it in 1266, from being separated from the source from which it had come; and that then the arms which *the Kings of Man before them* had borne was adopted by the Scottish lords, under the permission of the Kings of Scotland. Owing to the numerous changes of the sovereignty immediately subsequent to that period, and the unsettled state of the country from 1266 to about 1403, the descent of the *trie cassyn* became obscured and confused; therefore I think I ought to extend my enquiry, so as to render the transmission of the triquetra from ancient colonization, especially from the era when the three legs succeeded the ship, to the present time, as little doubtful as I possibly can. To such as esteem my labour and intentions dull and uninteresting I can only say with the poet,—

> ——"I do love these ancient ruins;
> We never tread upon them but we set
> Our foot upon some revered history."

The investigation appears to me to possess considerable importance in history; inasmuch as it is one illustration of the existence and of the meeting in our latitudes of the two great races of people, one from the south and the other from the north, who have contended so long, and still do contend for the possession of the landed property and political power throughout Europe, if not the world, a conventional antagonism, arising from differences in civilization, difficult to be obliterated. I mean the Celto-Phœnician of the southern, and the Celto-Teutonic and Sclavonian races of the northern latitudes, which contest has had so great an influence in the history of mankind. Historians who have studied the subject are, I believe, nearly agreed that these two races sprang originally from the same root, and were the descendants of Gomer, son of Japhet, who peopled Phrygia in Asia Minor, the plains of the Troad, and the adjacent countries, and who are understood to have gradually colonized the various parts of Europe. From Asia Minor they migrated westward in columns; one of which established colonies

along the sea-boards of the Mediterranean and the European shores of the Atlantic, whilst another proceeded north-westward over Scythia, Germany, and Scandinavia. In process of time, these two columns of common origin became gradually modified, both in their language and constitution of government, from the influences of climate, domestic habits, and public pursuits. The southern column, having acquired the name of Celts, first established themselves in Gaul and the British Isles, whilst the northern column does not appear to have reached Denmark and Norway till later, in such numbers as to cause them to press onwards in expeditions and colonization across the ocean. Owing to community of origin the languages of these two columns have even to this day an etymological affinity, and their primitive laws and customs, though much changed, are radically the same. Even the Phœnician, the Maltese, and the Punic languages* which were spoken by the ancient inhabitants of Tyre and Carthage, who subsequently proceeded from the same source and became the most successful cultivators of mercantile and naval industry along the same coasts, are in many phrases identical with the primitive Celtic language of Europe. As ancient Phrygia and the colonized countries in which the Celtic exists are nearly on the same zone of latitude, it is reasonable to conclude that the languages spoken in them remained longer similar and unchanged by climate and custom; whereas the Teutonic of the Scandinavian warriors in the northern zones, and the Punic of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians in the southern, would be subjected to stronger causes of change, and in a shorter period of time would ultimately become much more altered and divided into numerous races and nations; so much so that at the ages alluded to, little or no affinity remained to identify their common origin, excepting the etymons of language and a similarity in constitutional plans of laws and customs. Hence our investigations acquire renewed interest, and may be conducted with precision, and I hope with success. I shall, therefore, go on to notice,

* *Vide* Appendix C.

in the *first place*, all the vestiges of our subject to be found in heraldry and sculpture, from the earliest ages—especially from the time of the Crusades—to the present age. The time of the Crusades may be truly called the heraldic age, when the assemblage of vast armies and numerous fighting knights from many different nations rendered it necessary to appoint and regulate banners for individual warriors, colours and ensigns for battalions of different nations, as well as armorial bearings for crowned heads and flags for their large armaments. From such necessities heraldry assumed all the dignity of a science, and became fashionable also among civil functionaries. Heraldic emblems, therefore, of a genuine kind, afford some of the most distinct and authentic evidence of ethnological relations to be met with in history.

In the *second place* I may be permitted to continue to bring forward those traces of the three legs to be met with in remote antiquity; and *thirdly*, to investigate cursorily the connection which the heraldic galley has with the numerous and warlike tribes of Northmen and their descendants, so as to enable me to discuss the whole subject.

As it appears most probable that the paramount flag of the Northmen, who gained the ascendancy in these seas from a very early age, was the ship or galley, in conjunction perhaps with the eagle; so it is equally probable that from the Scottish conquest by Alexander III. downwards, the numerous families who have had possession of the regalities of Man have all assumed the three legs as arms of dominion and often quarterly with their family arms, emblazoned according to the prevailing fashion of the day. Antecedent to recorded heraldry the subject is more involved and uncertain, but I think I have been able to show that the three legs united are traceable as an emblematic bearing far back into the early ages of antiquity. As we find the ship and the legs, even at the present time, not unfrequently quartered together by families in the West of Scotland of Norwegian or Danish extraction, but who for centuries have ceased to have any

connection with Man, there can be no doubt that the emblazonment of the three legs is strictly in virtue of that hereditary descent from those centuries when the Northmen and the Manxmen were united under one sovereignty. It has already been stated that the three legs were quartered in the escutcheon of Mac-Leod, Lord of Lewis; in that of the Lord of Annandale; in that of Lord Bissart of Bewford; and we will find evidences to prove that it has been borne by every sovereign of Man, whether Norwegian, Scottish, or English, to the present time, or about eight hundred years, and in all probability was well known antecedently from time immemorial.

In continuing this evidence I shall begin with that found in the Isle of Man itself. I am not aware of any private native families that claim the *trie cassyn* as their armorial bearing, excepting such as are descended directly from our hereditary sovereigns, or who have become allied to them in marriage, and quarter the arms of dominion in a scutcheon of pretence. All public functionaries are entitled to use the seal on national business. This is decisive as to its being arms of dominion; but excepting its being sculptured on a few modern public buildings, we look for it almost in vain on monuments of antiquity. Even insular tradition is very meagre in reference to the *trie cassyn*. Some refer its origin to the sovereign necromancer Manninagh-beg Mac-ee-Lheir, and some will tell you that the *trie cassyn* was displayed by a chief from the Isle of Man, on the mainsails of his fleet, who sailed to the assistance of a Norwegian king. So much for tradition. I will now give a few instances of the arms which are found in the Island, and it is a remarkable fact that only one good specimen of antiquity is to be found on the Island itself on which the three legs occur. I am not aware of even one specimen on which the ship is sculptured: we search for the ship on the stone crosses, the runic pillars, the walls of Castle Rushen and Peel Castle in vain. The relic on which the *trie cassyn* is carved is the beautiful old pillar called St. Maughold's Cross, *(Plate* ix., *figs.* 1 *and* 2,*)* at the gate of the parish kirk yard of Maughold,

which was the reputed sanctuary for criminals in olden time. The pillar is without date, and its era is not recognized by tradition in any way. Maughold Church itself is allowed to be one of the most ancient kirks in the Island,—some say not less than seven centuries old,—and in all probability stands near the spot where Maughold was cast ashore in a small basket of wicker work.* This beautiful old pillar is much weather worn, and is usually attributed to the Danes, whose banner was the ship, and the Rev. Mr. Cumming, without adducing any evidence, ascribes it to the Scots, who he says may have introduced the present arms (those on the pillar) on their acquiring the sovereignty; more of which I will trouble the reader with hereafter. But as Kirk Maughold was the acknowledged sanctuary, antecedent to the Reformation, *tempore* Henry VIII., and the cross has stood from time immemorial, there can be no doubt of its great antiquity.

The Rev. William Kermode, of Ramsey, is in possession of a manuscript, dated 1775, wherein is given—speaking of the 24 Keys—the following distich inscribed below the Manx arms in the old Parliament House :—

"Three Legs armed;
Armed in self defence:
Centrally united;
Security from thence."

This inscription was not renewed when the present House of Keys was erected, I believe, on the site of the ancient brick building.

James Gell, Esq., High-Bailiff of Castletown, has now in his possession a representation of the *trie caseyn* on panes of coloured glass, which were long in the possession of the late Bishop Claudius Crigan of Sodor and Man, to whom the Bishop of Drontheim sent them from Norway, and which the Bishop left with the late John M'Hutchin, Esq., Clerk of the Rolls.—(*Plate* iv, *fig.* 3.) They are said to be a relic of the great window of the Cathedral

* *Vide* Appendix G.

of St. Germans in Peel Castle; are still quite entire, and possessed of considerable artistic beauty. The Cathedral of St. Germans fell into ruins upwards of one hundred years ago; but if ever this specimen occupied a place in it, it must have been carried to Norway long before it fell into ruins.* We find specimens of "three legs" in England and Scotland, which never saw the Isle of Man.

In Rymer there is a copy of a letter† or petition from the men of the Isle of Man to Edward I. of England, placing themselves under his protection, (1290), because their Island had "lately been laying desolate and oppressed with many enemies," in consequence of the death of Magnus their king and the forcible transfer of the sovereignty of their country to the crown of Scotland, to which was attached their "common seal." What device that was I have no means of ascertaining, but the fact evidently demonstrates the existence of a common seal at that early age, as well as the independent action of the men of Man of that early period. By-and-bye it will appear probable that this seal was the *trie cassyn*, and that the combination of the people in claiming protection of the King of England was the result of a constitutional principle of independence among the representatives of the people, uncommonly rare in the thirteenth century. Since that period the Manx people have, independent of their sovereigns, entered into negotiations with foreign powers on several occasions, through their parliament, constitutionally elected, I suppose.

The numerous ancient Runic pillars and crosses to be found in many parishes contain no traces either of the legs or the ship, except, perhaps, the triquetra knot; whereas the ancient stones in Iona, and I believe in Islay, have the ship but not the Manx arms on them. Therefore, the evidence we want being so deficient within the ancient kingdom of the Isles itself, we must look abroad for information. Besides having been borne by the families who have held the sovereignty of the country as arms

* See Appendix H. † Oliver's *Monumenta.*

of dominion, it has crept from them as arms of pretension into many families, especially in Scotland, and is found sculptured on buildings in various parts of Britain. On the ancient well of St. Winifred, in North Wales, the triquetra of three legs is carved conspicuously, and on various places in the North of England, where probably it has found its way from the escutcheons of the Earls of Derby, Lords and Kings of Man. In Baines' *History of Lancashire* there is represented an unarmed figure of a knight recumbent, (a sketch of which is preserved by Sir Wm. Dugdale,) on a tomb on the south side of the chapel at Ormskirk, which was constructed by order of Edward, third Earl of Derby, in 1572, having an escutcheon on his breast, on which the three legs are quartered *first* and *fourth*, and also represented on the right skirt of his doublet. The specimen on the well of St. Winifred was in all probability carved in consequence of some of the ancient chiefs of Man or Welsh kings having visited the well for sanitary purposes, or from the ancient connection between Wales and Man in times beyond memory. There is an antique vase at Thornicroft House, between Macclesfield and Knutsford, having the three legs on it, but I have not been able to obtain any history of it. It is generally admitted by tradition, and also in history, that in the early part of the middle ages, antecedent to the Orrys, this Island enjoyed a close intimacy with the old race of Welsh kings, and, according to Bede, was not unknown to the Saxon Kings of Northumberland. From hence we learn that in consequence of matrimonial connections the Welsh kings reigned in Man from 517 till 913, *i.e.*, from the time of the ascendancy of the Druid priests and patriarchal bishops till the invasions by the Danes and Northmen and the Vikingr in the days of the Orrys. As the only heraldic trace of this connection I may state that the armorial emblazonment of the fourth royal house of North Wales displays a man's leg *coupè*, on an escutcheon of pretence, and which the Glynns of Hawarden still bear. We have seen a leg *coupè* represented on the medal of Aga-

thocles, tyrant of Syracuse, three hundred years before Christ. The Glynns also bear the eagle, one of the most ancient bearings of the Macdonalds of Islay, the earliest race of Lords of the Isles recorded; there is also the old stone near Bardsey, already mentioned, referring to a king of Mona.

Troad Dhoo was the primogenitor of one of the royal tribes of North Wales. *Troa*, the current or surge of a stream, a Manx noun, is the root of a series of verbs and epithets, as *troagyr*, to trudge; *troiltagh*, a traveller, a pilgrim; *troyt*, to trot, &c. It is no great stretch of the imagination to believe that Troad Dhoo, the wild prince, the dark-complexioned traveller, was an importation from the East, and that his descendants bear to this day the flag of the heiress, a leg *coupè* (the Agathocles leg?) on an escutcheon of pretence, and that he was one of the leaders of those ancient Phœnician expeditions which explored these Islands, the Mediterranean Sea, and the sea-board of the Atlantic Ocean, in search of traffic and industry, and perhaps plunder. In all the settlements of the Troad, Hector, Ajax, and Achilles, and their emblems, were objects of veneration. Last year (1858), Mr. Wynne, M.P., informed our Hon. Sec. Mr. Paul Bridson, that a curious stone had been found on the beach near Barmouth, North Wales (opposite to the Island of Bardsey), and deposited at the neighbouring parish church of Llaanaber, having this inscription upon it:—"CÆLIXTVS, MONEDO REGI," or, "Calixtus, to the king of Mona." This appears an exemplification of the compounds of the word Mona, found in ancient times, and of the alphabet in its antique forms. It is most probably a tombstone constructed near Bardsey (Island of the bards,) in a very primitive age, by one Calixtus to the king of Man. Should the three legs on St. Winifred's Well, just mentioned, be found belonging to an ancient date, the coincidence would be interesting.

The three legs of Man are to be seen in the ruins of the ancient Castle of Dunbar, very distinctly, occupying a quarter of a shield, cut in low relief upon a stone fixed in a few yards

of the old ruined wall, which appears to have formed, when entire, one of the sides of a quadrangle near the centre of that old historic structure. Tradition assigns this castle to that Earl of Dunbar whose power extended along the Scottish border from sea to sea, who was the friend of king Robert Bruce, from whom he received the Isle of Man as a fief, and it is probable was at the same time allowed to blazon in his coat of arms the three legs of Man, the armorial bearings of previous kings, among the other symbols of his long descent and vast authority. The date of Dunbar Castle is unknown, but the three legs on one of its principal foundations is doubtless a convincing evidence of its being anterior to the fourteenth century. According to Ragman Roll, Nisbet's *Heraldry*, Thomas Randolph, or Sir Thomas Randolph, died governor in the minority of David II., anno 1331. He was meritoriously raised by Bruce to the dignity of Earl of Murray, Lord of Annandale and the Isle of Man. In 1372, George De Dunbar, Earl of March, was *Dominus vallis Manniæ,* (Train, p. 152.) Mr. Anderson, Marchmont Herald, in a note to my address states,—"The only known authentic arms must be the three legs; others, if insisted upon, must be hypothetical, or at least, *not recognised by extant record.*"

Such are some of the facts which establish that the Scottish sovereigns of Man bore or quartered the three legs during the time they were in possession of the island, and of course the insular government used it at the same time as their national arms. When the English line of sovereigns acquired possession we find the *trie cassyn* continued as the arms of the island. The ancestor of Sir John Cole Orton, in Leicestershire, is recorded in an old Irish peerage, published by Aaron Crossley, printer, of Dublin, thus:—"Henry, Lord Beaumont and Lord of Whitwick, in Leicestershire, in right of his wife, daughter and coheiress to Alexander Comyn, Earl of Bockquan (Buchan), he beareth the arms of the Isle of Man, that is, three legs embraced in armour." Lord Viscount Swords and Lord of Whitwick, Sir Thomas Beaumont, Baronet, Lord of Grace,

died early in the fourteenth century. Edward II. recognised this Lord Beaumont as Lord of Man about the year 1307, since which time all the Manx sovereigns have undoubtedly borne the three legs. In one year, 1307, Edward II. made no less than three grants of the island, viz., to Piers Gaveston, Gilbert de Macgaskell, and the abovenamed Henry De Beaumont. It is, therefore, certain that the Scottish and the English sovereigns bore the three legs as arms of dominion for Man, but the origin of their assumption of the bearing is as intricate and obscure as the politics of that eventful time proved to the kingdom of Man and the Isles. There exists no direct proof of the Isle of Man having adopted about this period the emblem for the first time. On the contrary, the Scots assumed the arms which former kings of Man had borne, and quartered the three legs (not the ship) with their own arms, 1265. Let us endeavour to remove this confusion in some degree, and perhaps we may point out the channel by which the emblem of this triquetra has come down to us from the earliest ages of antiquity. Marchmont Herald says, in regard to the western isles,—"I would take the only known arms to be those inserted in Sir David Lindsay, anno (or prior to) 1542, at p. 50, for the Lord of the Isles (not Man), a tracing of which I send, and may be blazoned thus:—Or, an eagle displayed,* gules armed (beak and claws) sable, surmounted by a lymphad of the last. The arms of the Isle of Man, as they appear in Lindsay, p. 62, may be blazoned thus:—Gules, three legs of man in armour, conjoined in the centre at the upper part of the thigh, flexed in triangle, and spurred, *argent.*" When the dynasty of Godred Cronan was in the ascendant in Man and the Isles, from 1065 to 1266, it has already appeared evident that these two armorial bearings had been in conjunction, the ship being the favourite bearing with the Northmen, but not to the entire exclusion of the three legs. In the records

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of the Duchy of Lancaster there is a charter commencing, "*G. dei gratiæ Rex insularum.*" In Camden's time the same charter was intact, and had attached uninjured, a ship in ruff sables, with the motto, "*Rex manniæ et insularum.*" Dr Oliver says—"When I saw it the seal was gone; the charter and seal-tye were intact." In the charter of King Olave, which is the very first deed recorded in the Lancaster archives, 1134, that monarch styles himself "King of the Isles" only, and not king of Man and the Isles. Among the Cottonian manuscripts are two charters of Harold, king of Man, 1245 and 1246, having the remains of a seal attached to them, *(Frontispiece)*, with the galley on the obverse, and on the reverse the figure of a beast, which appears from the form of its tail to be a lion; the same seal has on other specimens the motto of "*Rex manniæ et insularum.*" Such appears to have been the case with the arms of Man and the Isles in 1265, when Magnus, the last of the race of Godred Cronan, died, leaving everything in confusion. On the completion of the treaty between Alexander III. of Scotland and of Magnus IV. of Norway, the chiefs of Man and the western isles, shorn of much of their dignity and importance, submitted after a short time, and quietly returned to their family estates; most of them continued to bear the galley as their armory; only a few of them quartered the three legs with the galley, thus preferring to symbolise their connection with the Isle of Man even after they had been separated from it. But this acquiescence in the conduct of the Norwegian and Scottish kings was not the case in the Isle of Man. Magnus having returned to Castle Rushen during the negotiation, does not appear to have been treated with any consideration by the contracting parties, and he died in the same year in disgust. The people of the Isle of Man also demurred to the annexation of their country to Scotland for a sum of money, rose in defence of their constitutional rights, and maintained that they had a vote, or an acquiescence in the nomination of their sovereign. Even during the despotic period of Godred

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Cronan, they had frequently exercised their right of electing their sovereigns. They formally put themselves under the protection of Edward I., (see Oliver's *Monumenta,*) and their independent conduct prepared the way for numerous changes in these parts, which it is not my business at present to detail, for that belongs more to the chapter of our subject on the prerogatives of the king and the constitutional privileges of the Island, than to that on armorial bearings.

In this state of affairs, Affrica, the sister of Magnus, and Mary, his niece, the only remaining heirs of the line of Cronan, took refuge in England to avoid the Scots, taking with them the public records and documents necessary to prove their claims to the kingdom of Man. Mary preferred her claims before Edward I. of England, and was referred to the King of Scotland, who at that time held possession of the island, and ultimately to Edward II. and III., by whose command a marriage was consummated between the Earl of Salisbury and the said princess. The children of these two ladies intermarried, each being in the third degree in descent from Olave, the black King of Man, and thus their claims to the island became united. Now if the Isle of Man had any armorial bearings whatever at the period of the flight of these ladies, doubtless they would assume it as their right, and as an important evidence in support of their claims. Mr. Papworth, who, I understand, is now publishing an admirable ordinary of arms, says the legs of man were borne by the name of Affrick, or Auffrick, whose posterity carried them and the sovereignty of Man into the family of Montacute. In Burke's *Encyclopædia of Heraldry,* the name "Auffrick" (1844) has for bearings "three legs armed proper, conjoined in the centre at the upper part of the thigh, flexed in triangle, garnished and spurred, or." Crest, "two arms embowered and erect, in armour, holding in their hands a gem ring, all proper;" *no motto given.* The Montacute's in England are, I believe, the most direct descendants of this Manx princess Affrica. They

do not now quarter the three legs generally, but all the branches of them retain the number three under various emblems on their escutcheon, viz., three lozenges conjoined in fess, three fussils, three torteaux, all in fess, and having, therefore, a close analogy to the three legs.

I think it has already been stated that about this period the Isle of Man was formally included by name in a truce between France and England (1389), which was signed by Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moravia, and by William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury,—the former as sovereign of the island in the Scottish interest, the latter as the King of Man then recognised by England. This double signature seems to have been suggested by the contest for the island continuing unsettled, and from the piratical dangers of the seas in consequence thereof. Ultimately the Earl of Salisbury reconquered the island from the Randolph family, and being confirmed in all his rights by the King of England, quartered the three legs with those of his family, similarly as the Scots had done before him. Selden, in his *Titles of Honour*, speaking of the kingdom of Man in the sixth of Richard II., 1390, describes the seal of the Earl of Montague, Seigneur de Manniæ, as having the arms of the island quartered with those of his own family, but does not say whether those arms were a galley or the three legs; I have already shown that they were the latter, and that they were so will become more and more certain as we proceed. A deed in the thirteenth of Richard II. (1397) has the legs in the first and fourth quarters, and those of Montague in the second and third, with a coronet something like that of modern dukes, having between the strawberry a *fleur-de-lis*, with the name inscribed inside the coronet. The monarchs of this age had not arched or closed crowns, and it is not certain whether the earls had any coronet belonging to their rank. This coronet worn by Montague, Earl of Salisbury, is now supposed to be in right of his rank as King of

Man, and may be taken as the pattern of the Manx royal crown (a golden one) as worn by the first kings of the English line. Its singularity supports by analogy the conclusion I am arguing for,—that Affrica conveyed by marriage the royal paraphernalia of Man, as well as the three legs, to her husband, the Earl of Salisbury. To a document of the Earl of Salisbury, 1381, granting a yearly rental for the life of one Wm. Faryndon out of the lands of Man, published by the Manx Society, a seal in red wax is attached, having three fussils in fess over the coats or coronet; supporters, two griffins; inscription, *Will.....te acuto, comes Sarum et dns. de Man et de Denbegh*, (Oliver's *Monumenta*), which is clearly only a domestic bearing of the family. But in an example of the *State* bearings of the second Earl of Salisbury, copied from his monument and that of his wife in Salisbury Cathedral, by his lineal descendant, F. C. Montague of London, barrister, and an eminent antiquarian, his effigy in full armour wears a breastplate, on which are quarterly the three legs and the three fussils. On this same monument his Queen wears the long robes of the period which has on the left side a large cross, sable, engrailed, as the daughter of Lord Mohun of Dumster. These two monumental figures are joined together by a chain which is said to have been of gold. Tradition informs us that this monument represents Montacute, second Earl of Salisbury and his wife, Queen of Man. Mr. Montague has deposited in the British Museum records emblazoned on vellum, in six volumes, illustrative of the history of the Montacute family, which never have been published, and which are worthy of being consulted on this subject.

I am unable to give any examples of the three legs from the house of Scrope, *(see Appendix)*, during the time they were sovereigns of the Island, nor can I obtain any information on the subject in reference to the Earl of Northumberland, in the reign of Henry IV. Indeed there appears to be an obscurity concerning the Manx sovereigns of those periods which can only be

unravelled by sculptured and documentary evidence; notwithstanding, we find the descent of the Manx legs uninterrupted in the house of Stanley, as they had been in the Montacute family.

I have also been unsuccessful in ascertaining whether Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, who obtained possession of the sovereignty from Sir William Montacute, son of Sir Simon, and was confirmed in the same by Edward I., ever blazoned the arms. I should conjecture that in the *Bolden Book of Durham*, and in some charter or other document of this ambitious bishop, some monument or seal might be discovered amongst the archives of the bishopric of Durham which might throw some light upon his connection with the Isle of Man, for he was a prelate whose state was only exceeded by his sovereign the king of England. His ordinary suite of attendants consisted of one hundred and forty knights.

The same remark applies likewise to the period of four years when the Dukes of Northumberland held the Island, immediately antecedent to the succession of the house of Stanley.

Pendant to the original of a letter, (1423,) in the British Museum, from James de Stanley to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moravia, Lord of Annandale and Man, respecting a charter of Magnus to the bishop and church of Sodor, are the fragments of a seal in red wax, the charges on the seal are very indistinct, but the impalement appears to be the three legs.

In 1475 there was a controversy between the families of John, Lord Scrope, and Thomas, Earl of Derby, steward of the king's household, sixty-eight years after the first grant to Sir John Stanley, in 1407. Our learned secretary Dr. Oliver informs me that the records of this discussion were preserved in the Tower of London, but are now removed to the Record Office, Fetter-lane. Unfortunately they give no idea as to what the arms in dispute were. Doubtless they were the three legs, whose descent in the house of Derby for three hundred years has been continued uninterruptedly, and which Lord Scrope had purchased from the last of the Norwegian race of the kings of Man and the Isles, the

descendants of Affrica, the princess of Man. Hence it follows that the three legs were not first introduced as arms of dominion by the Scots. Had they been of recent adoption from their competitors the Scots, under Robert Bruce, in token of subjugation, it is very improbable they would have been a source of contention between two English noblemen, both antagonists of the Scottish throne, or that the people who had rebelled against the Scots would have acquiesced in such a token of sovereignty. The motto, "*Quocunque jeceris stabit,*" first appeared in 1300, about thirty-five years after the secession of the Norwegians from the Isles, and about the time the Scots are said to have introduced the three legs. About this time heraldry became much cultivated and mottoes adopted. It is just probable that the Scots only introduced this motto in the thirteenth century, which gave rise to the opinion that the device was in token of subjugation, whereas it had been well known long before to Manx families in the Hebridean Islands, and adopted by them as arms of pretence.

In the Chapel Royal, Windsor, are emblazoned the arms of the Lords of Man, indubitable evidence of the descent of the three legs through the houses of Scrope and Stanley. The plates relating to the arms of the Island, and the manner in which they are quartered, are as follows, according to the late Sir John Vanburgh, Clarencieux:—

"Wm. Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, in 1393, (see Seacome,) who bought the Island from the Earl of Salisbury, was a Knight of the Garter, but being attainted his shield has been removed."

Stanley.—There are no arms for Sir John Stanley, knight, in the Chapel Royal.

In the thirteenth stall on the sovereign's side is a plate which is inscribed "Mon. Sennour Stanley," which has quarterly in the first and fourth, or, on a chief indented gules, three plates argent, being Lathom; and in the second and third quarters, THREE LEGS in armour argent, spurs or.

In the fifth stall on the prince's side is a plate inscribed "Thomas, Lord Stanley," with arms quarterly. First, Stanley,

argent, on a bend azure, three buck's heads, cabossed or; second, Isle of Man, three legs armed interlaced in mangle argent, purfled and spurred, or; third, Warren, chequy, or and azure; fourth, Lathom, on a chief indented gules, three plates, argent. (This was the first Earl of Derby of that surname.)

In the sixth stall on the prince's side is a plate not inscribed, where the arms are quarterly. First Stanley, then Lathom, afterwards Warren, and lastly the Isle of Man. This plate was for Lord George Stanley, Lord Strange, son of that Earl. No plate for Sir Wm. Stanley, the lord chamberlain.

In the ninth on the prince's side is a plate inscribed "Lord Montitegle," being quarterly of four. First, Stanley; second, Lathom; third, Warren; fourth, Isle of Man.

In the fifth on the sovereign's side is a plate inscribed, "22nd May, A.D. 1547. Anno regno regis Ed. VI. primo, le trés noble et puissant Seigneur, Edwarde, Comte de Darbi, Seigneur Stanley and de Man; quarterly of eight. First, Stanley; second, Lathom; third, Isle of Man; fourth, Warren; fifth, Strange of Knocking, —gules, two lions passant argent, armed gules; sixth, Woodville,—argent, a fesse and canton gules; seventh, Mohun,—or, a crossel engrailed; eighth, Monthault, or, a lion rampant argent, armed gules.

In the seventh stall on the sovereign's side is a plate, "du trés noble et puissant Seigneur, Henry, Count de Darby, Seigneur Straunge, Stanley, et du Man, 1574," consisting of the same eight quarters, having an inescutcheon quarterly of four coats, being those of his countess, the daughter of the Earl of Cumberland; first and fourth, Clifford,—cheque or and azure, a fesse gules; second, Brandon,—barry of ten argents and gules, over all a lion rampant or, crowned per pale of the first and second; the third likewise quarterly, first and fourth, Bruin,—azure, a cross molin, or; second and third, Rokesby, cheque lozenge, arm and gules.

In the fourth stall on the prince's side is a plate, "du trés noble et puissant Seigneur, Guilliaume, Comte de Darby, Baron Stanley,

Seigneur Strange de Knocking et Mohun, Seigneur Ly'ile de Man, &c., 1601." Quarterly of twelve coats:—first, Stanley; second, Lathom; third, Isle of Man; fourth, Warren; fifth, Strange; sixth, Woodville; seventh, Mohun; eighth, Monthault, ninth, Clifford; tenth, Brandon; eleventh, Bruin; twelfth, Rokesby.

There is no plate remaining for James, Earl of Derby.

From these details it appears that the arms of Man have been diversly borne, and, what appears strange, by the younger branches, who had not the dominion of the Island. All the Stanleys bore them in different quarters, which seems to be a mistake, and contrary to the ancient method of Montague, who bore them in the first quarter, which is the regular form for arms of kingdom, and of feudal arms.

It is rather remarkable that the first thing almost that strikes the eye on entering the Heraldry Office, at London, is the Manx arms. This office was once the residence of the Earls of Derby, which accounts for the coincidence. In the old painting of Peel Castle, when occupied as a fortress about two hundred years ago, sent by the present Earl of Derby to the Committee of the Peel Bazaar, the *trie cassyn* is seen floating on the flagstaff on the summit of the ancient round tower of the Castle. In the old church of Malew, underneath the gallery, the Manx arms of some antiquity are to be found delineated; also in some of the modern churches; as well as on the pediment of the front of the Free School, Douglas, erected in 1810. The monument to Lord Henry Murray, youngest brother to the last Lord of Man and the Isles, of the house of Atholl, has the arms inscribed conspicuously upon it, and all the Public Offices of Government and of Record use it as their only seal. Such is the evidence of the existence of the three legs on the armorial bearings of Man, for a period of about six hundred years, or since the Scottish conquest in 1265, which I have had in my power to bring forward. And it is worthy of remark that English heralds in general, after Camden, lean toward the ship, and not the three legs, having been the ancient emblem.

I find that the antiquarian heraldry of early ages, though very imperfect and not at all a science, not by any means destitute of the armorial bearings of the early British and Saxon kings; and I must say that when these are found upon sculptures and engraved inscriptions of undoubted authenticity, we have no right to cast discredit upon them, merely because the knowledge of heraldry was very rude in Britain and in England in early ages. In an ethnological point of view, such evidence is as good and as worthy of belief as that of later times. I feel satisfied that any old stone well authenticated is worthy of attention, and in such cases that the heraldry given by the early authors ought not to be thrown aside, particularly in ethnology. Though not a science, it was a fact, and doubtless a study in the middle and dark ages. Therefore I consider the Runic crosses in the Island very valuable in this respect. In 1823 I first drew the public attention of antiquaries to these stones, by publishing fourteen etchings of them, collectively, in Part 2, Vol. ii, of the *Transactions of the Scottish Antiquaries;* and I can bear testimony to the beautiful and able manner in which Mr. Cumming has published representations of upwards of thirty more of them in his recent work entitled the *Runic and other Monumental Remains in the Isle of Man.* It is unnecessary, therefore, to rehearse his description of them here; but as we have been led into ethnological reasoning, founded on the evidences furnished by Grecian and Phœnician relics of antiquity, I hope patience may be extended to me a little longer, whilst I review such evidence as may be found at home, for although the Runic stones do not come within the limits of armorial bearings, *(Plate* v.) it appears to me that we have arrived at a point where a few more data will enable us to determine pretty nearly the date of these interesting relics of Manx antiquity.* Mr. Cumming's belief is that the era of these

* On a Runic stone found by him in Malew, the Rev. Mr. Cumming has delineated a figure holding in his right hand an object more like a "leg *coupé*" than anything else. It is deposited now in the Museum of King William's College.—*Monumental Remains*, Plate v, fig. 15.

crosses must be between 888 and 1266, but as they all appear to be Christian crosses, and as the Danes and Norwegians were not converted till the tenth century, it appears to me not very probable that they are relics of christianized colonists of a people who are not recorded to have been devotees in Christianity, but on the contrary daring adventurers and robbers by sea as well as by land. In all these stones, with few exceptions, the *prima facie* impression made on every one that sees them is that they are Christian crosses of an early age, but the Runic alphabet which records their inscription is unknown to moderns in general; it is the Norse or Teutonic alphabet, better known in Britain anciently than now, and the language it expresses may be considered as a dialect of the oldest Celtic from Gomer, varied by Teutonic races. It is a remarkable fact that neither the ship nor the three legs is engraved on these stones, although the former occurs on the crosses at Iona, where no runes are in existence. The ship occurs in the monuments of the Lords of the Isles at Iona, and others as late as A.D. 1500, but like every relic of antiquity the origin of which is unknown or doubtful, they are referred to the Danes and Norwegians, and the warlike and maritime people who frequented these seas in early times, and who ruled in the Isle of Man for a period not much exceeding two hundred years, during all of which time the Islands were turbulent and unsettled to an uncommon degree, and who have left no other traces of their civilization and peaceful habits behind them.*

In this manner the aboriginal Christian Celts or Britons are thrown aside. But the ornamentations and grotesque representa-

* One of the Runic crosses at Kirk Braddan is assigned by the Runes on it to one Utr. Can this be the Ottar or Ochtar who headed the Manx in a civil war about 1093, about the time of the invasion of Magnus Barefoot of Norway, and who was killed at the battle of Sanuthwart or Santwart? On one of the Runic stones at Onchan is inscribed the name of Arthrigy, and according to Prynne, Edward II. granted the custody of the Island, during pleasure, to one John Athrig; but we have no evidence that these individuals were Norwegians. If these inscriptions are genuine Runes, and are good for anything, they prove that Runic, or something like it, was a spoken language in Man as late as the fourteenth century, which is very probable, and that Runic ornamentation had lost its peaceful characteristics of domestic animals, and assumed that of ferocious beasts.

tions of domestic and other animals which cover these stones bespeak for their authors a peaceful character and a neglect of the art of war. Notwithstanding this, they are still ascribed to a warlike race of sea-kings, accompanied with warlike followers, worshippers of Woden in the Valhalla, and who plundered everywhere, in defiance of Christianity, to which they were not converted until the tenth or eleventh century. The true state of the case is that we lay all antiquities we cannot give a good account of at the door of the Danes and Norwegians, regardless of the common sense of the case. Gilbert G. French, Esq., of Bolton, in his paper on the origin and meaning of the early interlaced ornamentation found on the ancient sculptured stones of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, arrives at the conclusion that these Runic pillars are imitations on stone of the wicker work of the ancient British and Saxons, who are known to have constructed crosses of basket work. He says, "the earliest authentic records of Britain refer to its inhabitants as expert basket makers; their houses were made of willows and reeds; their fences and fortifications were living trees; their boats were baskets covered with skins; their domestic furniture, defensive armour, even the images employed in their erroneous religion, were each of wicker work." Mr. French very ingeniously adduces evidence to prove that the existing stone crosses were reproductions of still earlier crosses of twigs. If this theory be correct, it suggests the true origin of them to be from the aboriginal Christians of Britain. It is indeed a novel idea that these crosses are the only relics we possess of the first Christians in Britain and of the ancient British languages,—a dialect of that Celtic tongue which we have reason to believe was identical to Hindostan, Phœnicia, and Iceland, and to the intermediate shores, but which has since been transmuted into so many various languages apparently quite distinct from each other. The learned Mr. Borrow, who visited this Island three yearo ago, and who understands the Runes of the ancient stones as well as any living man, says that some knowledge of the Manx language is indispensable for understanding some of

the inscriptions on the Runic stones. This is corroborative of what I have already stated, viz., that the Runic language and the Manx are dialects from the same roots; or the original tongue of the ancient Britons and of the Celts of Europe.

Not only the convoluted ornamentations are in character with Mr. French's opinion, but the peaceful character of the inscriptions and of the figures are opposed to their being relics of a warlike race, such as the Danes and Norwegians and maritime Vikingr, who would not have failed to have perpetuated representations of their arms, their ships, and their warlike devices on them. Instead of such emblems of a stirring people, we find on these stones representations of the domestic animals, or those of the chase, accompanied with a simple record of affection inscribed from the living to the departed soul. It is certainly a venerable idea, and I think quite a probable one, that these crosses are relics of the primitive British Christians and their immediate descendants, who fled from England and the persecution of the Emperor Dioclesian and others, and took refuge in Man and the Isles. The Runic cross is not to be found in Saxon England, but only in those portions of Britain, Ireland, and Scotland where the aboriginal Celt was left in quiet possession of the country, and in those districts in fine where the Culdees flourished. There is a fine specimen of one at Kirk Oswald, in Cumberland, where I believe the Northmen never reached to form a settlement. If they ever existed in England the energy of the conquering Saxon must have obliterated them, and after the Saxons had received Christianity the fashion of erecting them had passed away. The same remarks apply to the Norwegians who ruled, but never peopled the Isle of Man, except with warriors very partially. In evidence of these being representations of a quiet and peaceful people we have also the ecclesiastical divisions of national territory into parishes. The Runic crosses all stand near places of Christian worship. Wherever Kirk or Keeil is found affixed to designations of places, the names of parishes are for the most part of Celtic etymology, and

wherever these stones are found the names of parishes are Celtic or ancient British, and probably Culdean,—on the west coast of Scotland and in the Isle of Man for example, where a community of origin is very well marked. On the eastern coast of Britain, and indeed throughout England, the names of places are Saxon and Norman-French, more modern in their etymology, but still containing many Celtic or Runic roots. The majority of names of parishes in this Island, and in the western parts of Scotland and the Isles thereof, either begin or terminate with Kirk or Kil, a genuine Celtic word for church, as Kirk Michael Kil Martin, Kirk Onchan or Kilchonan, Kilpharric or Kirk Patrick, and the like. All the old Treen Chapels in the Island are called Keeils by the neighbours, and some of these have distinctive names. Kirkoswald is the name of a parish in Ayrshire, and a village in Cumberland, and is therefore in all probability of Celtic origin.

The Saxons on their becoming Christians adopted the same kind of divisions of territory into parishes, but abandoned Celtic names in favour of their own language and civilization. Now the Norwegians never were in possession of the country of Man, with the same force and power of amalgamation that the Saxons and Normans in England were, for they neither supplanted our language nor our Celtic customs; therefore they have left no relic of their civilization behind them, and could have been neither in theory nor in character the architects of the peaceful cross and the names of parishes in the Isle of Man.

These observations are rather discursive from the subject of Armorial Bearings, perhaps; they lead us to a position in ethnology, however, where the primitive Northmen who occupied the sea coast of Europe and Asia might be traced and recognized by the dialects of the language which they severally spoke. There certainly was once a time when that language was much more common than it is now, when it was the primitive and common language of many countries of Europe and Asia. Should etymology and the affinity of languages among different races be

objected to, in our endeavour to trace the identity of origin of such races, we certainly are denied one of the most rational means of treating the ethnology of nations,—the scriptural origin of the races of mankind.

From this position we might, perhaps, have investigated with advantage the historical connection of these countries, before proceeding to the second division of this paper. But allow me only to remark that the Celtic appears to me to have once been as common and as much alike in all the ancient countries under view as it now is in the remote corners of many principalities where it still prevails as different dialects of the same language, viz., in Gallicia, Britany, Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, the Isle of Man, Inis or Ynys Gall or the Hebrides, the Highlands of Scotland, and those parts of the Lowlands where the wave of progress and change has not been successful in obliterating it altogether. In such districts the Celtic language continues more or less characteristic, according as it has been more or less exposed to those currents of innovation which have resulted in the corruption or disappearance of it. Where changes have orignated from different causes, often facilitated by an internal desire of the peoples themselves for change, but principally from external causes, from mercantile and other intercourse by sea, from colonization of races superior in civilization and in power, from hostile invasion by war and the pressure onwards of the exterminating presence of strong nations against the weak, and to the breaking up and dismemberment ultimately of strong nations. Since the fall of the Roman Empire strong and powerful races of Teuto-Sclavonic origin have invaded the Celtic people, and have driven them gradually from their most choice localities in Europe. Wave after wave of warlike invaders have flowed westward, permanently so as to obliterate the memory and almost every trace of Celtic nations, possessed originally of characteristic nationalities, so that we even now find the original Celtic people driven up into remote corners of territory, where they are undergoing the process of obliteration from amongst nations altogether.

Whether the Isle of Man, or the Vikingr (vicar kings?) of those seas who frequented it, had adopted any flag or symbol during the ascendancy of the Celtic aborigines and the maritime Scots, or after the coming of the Saxons and the Danes had reduced and colonized the country, is very problematical. We have found symbols and armorial bearings go back into primitive ages and the days of Hercules.* In Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, page 118, that learned man is stated to have said, "armorial bearings are as ancient as the siege of Thebes," which he proved by a quotation from one of the tragedies of Euripides,—"in the centre of his shield Parthenopœus bore the *domestic* symbol of Atalanta slaying the Ætolian boar." In holy Scripture it is recorded that parabolic emblems were understood among the Jews; and the cross has been an emblem from the earliest ages, especially to the ancient Egyptians; but it did not become an object of adoration among Roman devotees till the 7th century, under the auspices of the Emperor Heraclius. It cannot be doubted that the superior classes of men and those addicted to war, owing to their maritime position in these Islands, have, in all ages, more or less closely kept pace with the fashion and progress of other nations; and it is not at all unlikely that they copied their visitors the Phœnicians and the Anglo-Saxons in their day, as they did the Normans after the Conquest of England, in this particular as well as in many others. The principal flag of the Scottish, the Danish, and the Norwegian Vikingr, previous to the Conquest as well as after it for some centuries, was in all probability the ship or lymphad. Sacheverell states in his *Survey*, on what authority he does not say, that the flag of Macon, one of the Orry kings of Man, who was nominated by King Edgar as admiral of his fleet of 360† vessels for scouring the British Seas of robbers, was the ship, which countenances, I think, the tradition

* Pliny, speaking of the Druids in his time, (the reign of Nero,) tells us that they had a badge of distinction called the *Anguinium* or Serpent's Egg, and says, "*I have seen that egg*, it is the insignia or badge of distinction of the Druids.

† Train says 3600.

that the Orrys were Vikingr; and in Camden and other numismatic authoritities we find the galley or lymphad, or other modifications of the ship, common on old coins, British as well as Saxon. An open boat at sea constitutes the emblem of St. Columba of Iona, (865,) and has been continued as that of the Scottish Bishops of the Isle to this day; indeed I have seen gold coins of the Heptarchy found in the Isle of Man, on which the galley was the most conspicuous emblazonment. Does not this identify the Saxons with other Northmen who infested the shores of Britain in the middle ages? There can be little or no doubt, therefore, that the ship or galley were the armorial bearings most generally displayed by the Northern Vikingr, although lost sight of since the introduction of lions quarterly in the Royal armour of England was initiated.

Finally, from all this it is clear that the triquetra of legs is a very ancient emblem. Starting from the middle ages we have traced it up to the classic ages of Greece, through the Heraclidæ and the Etruscan civilization, and have had reason to believe it probable that it was not unknown to the Phœnicians and Carthaginians. Starting from the same point we have traced it down to modern times, uninterruptedly in use as the heraldic bearing of the Isle of Man, from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the present time, a period of 560 years. If we have lost sight of it in the dark ages, viz., from the disappearance of the Phœnician and Roman power in these latitudes till the fourteenth century, we have had glimpses of it, at least occasionally, in the bearings of some of the Hebridean chieftains, in the arms of Sicily, at the well of St. Winnifred, and in the "leg *coupè*" of the Wynnes of Hawarden, in North Wales, and have, in a small degree, observed the relationship of races and of languages of many peoples.

ANCIENT REMAINS OF EARTHWORKS AND LARGE STONES.

CHAPTER II.

IN an old country of Europe like this, numerous antiquities are expected to be in existence. The most curious of these, and those of magnitude have been often described, but the unattractive and obscure objects have only been noticed in a very general way by writers ancient as well as modern; therefore, to supply this absence of historical record, I now purpose to enumerate the undescribed remains of antiquity in detail, as manifest indications of the condition of our civilization in early times, and as important evidence in an ethnological point of view, not only to the Island itself but to tribes of Celts and Northmen who inhabited the adjacent countries. As the present grows out of the past, so the future is to be studied by comparing the past and the present one with the other. The more we have studied the Armour of Man, and its original—the Tripod, the more we become desirous of studying contingent objects of history, convinced that they all bear a relationship to one another. Creuzer observes that the tripod, like the three-stringed lyre, contained in ancient times an allusion to the three seasons of the primitive calendar of the human race, and tradition in many nations, from the earliest antiquity,

ascribe to the tripod the virtue of having formed some foundation or other for rights of dominion and possessions of inheritance. The more we study the early ethnology of the human race, the more we are led to admire that Almighty Providence which over-rules the universe as a whole, from generation to generation, irrespective of the vain strugglings of human discord and power, and to comprehend the necessity of our adopting just conceptions regarding ultimate principles which over-rule all conventional civilization in the long run that are dependant on the imperfections of man, and not supported by the universal laws of the God of Nature.

I purpose speaking of the ruins comprised in this chapter in the following order, convinced that the arrangement will impart some degree of perspicuity to a subject so abstruse and confused:—

1.—Hillocks and cairns under pagan and fabulous civilization, comprising barrows and brooghs, cronks, stone graves, Druidical circles, watch and ward hills, fortified stations and mud enclosures of the people, including notices of Peel Castle and Castle Rushen, and some encampments of magnitude of ante-historic date.

2.—Keeils of the treens and barrows, and the cemeteries of the primitive Christians, including notices of the Abbeys and the Nunnery.

3.—Ancient Romans in Man.—Danes and Norwegians.

I am aware that little dependance is to be placed on the local traditions descriptive of such objects: it accords with my own experience that fabulous legends regarding some of them have grown prodigiously within the last forty years. The details of the marvellous stories about Peel Castle and Castle Rushen, and others, were merely in embryo previous to the public notice being attracted towards them by Sir Walter Scott in his *Peveril of the Peak*, and by subsequent authors of periodicals. I wish it to be understood that I was familiar with the history of many of them before that time. In 1815 I read a paper descriptive of many of them before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Douglas,

and had communicated a notice of them, with illustrative sketches, to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries in Edinburgh, which communication was ultimately published in Vol. II, Part 2, of their *Transactions*. Fabulous accounts would only obscure the subject I have in view; but I think these ruins worthy of particular description, because there is nothing fabulous about them as they appear at present. They are only humble and unpretending realities,—facts which the native inhabitants do not attempt to account for. They are practical evidence, even at the present time, by which we see and tangibly examine the works and the people that are unrecorded in history. There is nothing fabulous or ambiguous about them but the era of their construction. For the most part these ruins are not only diminutive and unattractive but obscure and unknown. They are reputed, in general, by Manxmen, as having belonged to races of their progenitors whom they still reverence, but concerning whose history they have few or no traditions. Many of them have been demolished by agricultural improvements within my own memory, or their elevations have been much reduced by excavations and by the effects of time acting on their loose and earthy materials. Consequent upon their general appearance, and the feeling prevalent that many of them were relics of a pagan worship opposed to our own revealed religion, these remains are considered by many moderns as unworthy of particular notice, and were it not for the historical interest they involve, I would not feel inclined to question that judgment. But we may carry our indifference regarding them too far, for the Scriptures of the Old Testament do not sanction it. Revealed religion, in correcting the errors and superstitions which spring up in natural religion, does not ignore it. The aspirations of both religions in the mind are towards the same end, namely, the education of man for an obedience to laws and customs, and the enjoyment of a higher and progressive state of existence, under the sanction of a Superior Power: "Learn not the way of the heathen: worship Him all ye gods."

THE BARROW.

It is out of the question to name the people or races, or the eras to whom the remains of the ages of hillocks are referable. Doubtless they were constructed in successive ages, but there is a uniformity of character in the majority of them, from which I conclude they are principally referable to a particular origin; most probably a portion of them were constructed by the aborigines of the Island, from Druidial times to the middle ages, whilst another portion belongs to the Scandinavian invaders, whether they were Saxon, Danes, or Norwegians, and many of them to the primitive Christians, who mingled with the heathen and habitually imitated their architecture in the construction of their domestic places in ante-historic periods. Miserable huts of mud, &c., were the abodes of the mass of mankind in the first ages, and altars of unhewn stones and monuments of earth heaped up were recognized and commanded to be forms of monumental architecture during the commonwealth of the Jews, whose history is duly recorded in the Old Testament from before the time to which the Manx remains we are attempting to describe are probably referable. There can be little doubt that the forms of idolatry described in the Bible and by the prophets were in those ages common to the heathen both in Europe and Asia, and that in an island like ours we may look upon many of the pre-historic monuments which we see around us *fac simile* resemblances of those alluded to in the sacred volume with so much prophetic warning. It may be replied that it is gratuitous to refer any of those remains to the Druids, because we have no record of these priests ever having used any temple but groves of trees, or it may be asserted on the other hand, that all circles, cairn altars, and mounds of earth are veritable Scandinavian antiquities because the circle was the recorded temple of their god Thor; but in reply to these assertions I would enquire, how are we then to explain the occurrence of these altars in other nations (?) in Anglesea, for instance, which was never permanently conquered and settled by the Scandinavians; and

how are we to account for the circle having been emblematic of Divinity amongst nations who were beyond the influence of Scandinavian custom and religion. The absence of written evidence in this case is partly owing to the prohibition of letters enforced by the tyrannical but patriarchal Druids. This absence, however, by no means falsifies the evidence afforded us by an examination of the monumental remains still to be found in these Islands, which are admitted in history to have been one principal retreat of the Druidical priests of Europe. Such absence tends to confirm the assumption that they really are Druidical, and have not therefore been recorded.* By Druidical I would be understood as belonging to the heathen or idolatrous age, when man had not attained to that degree of civilization which enables them to cultivate religion as a purely spiritual revelation, unincumbered by the corruptions of an *eye* service or worship.

The Barrow occurs in every part of the Island, single or in groups of two or three or more. They must have been once very numerous, if we take into account those that have been obliterated. The single hillocks or cronks are for the most part the largest in size, whilst the grouped are of a smaller description. They are often simply sepulchral, but many of them bear indications of their narrow summits having been used as places of worship, shelter, or defence, or as places where watch and ward

* Barrows are found in Wales, and in the counties of the ancient Britons; in Pembrokeshire some of them are called Kyigen, and have inscriptions. Anglesea is known in the ancient British language as the *Inis*, or *Ynys Dowyl*, the Dark Island, on account, it is supposed, of its groves and its shady places; and it is remarkable that on Salisbury Plain, in Wiltshire, the country of the Belgæ of the Roman historians, an uncommon number of monumental remains are found, and the magnificent stone circle of Stonehenge of the pre-historic period which possess a character similar to the remains we are describing. Wiltshire was debateable ground, not dissimilar to the Isle of Man. The accession of the Earl of Salisbury to the sovereignty in the fourteenth century by his marrying the heiress of Magnus, the last of the Norwegian Dynasty, is another parallelism between Wiltshire and the Island, and is not unworthy of being mentioned. He married in obedience to the commands of the king of England at a time when unrecorded traditions of a Druidical nature must have been fresher than now, 600 years afterwards.

were kept, but these are readily distinguishable from the true or sepulchral barrow. Many of the single barrows, as well as those in groups, are composed entirely of mould, and are of low elevation, worn down from the effects of time, or of artificial levelling, but they have been generally respected by the inhabitants. Such as have been opened and examined, contain from one to eight or ten urns. Feltham (p. 180,) mentions one in the parish of Andreas in which were "found fourteen rotten urns or earthen pots, with their mouths downwards, with one greater than the others in a bed of white sand, containing a few brittle bones as having passed the fire, but no ashes left discernible." These urns are composed of a kind of coarse terra-cotta, not exceeding one foot in height, neatly formed, with a beading outside round the brim. But there is a third kind of carnaen, made up of large stones and mould, more in the form of a cairn, standing solitary and deserted in a field, and often containing the *kist vaen* of antiquaries. The names which the natives give them are for the most part casual and general, such as a "cronk," or "knock," a "hillock," "cairn," "carnaen," or "heap of stones." A few examples will best explain these varieties. The larger ones are often denominated "broogh" or "burrough," of which no etymon is attempted, except we admit the word barrow to be a corruption of it, or the Saxon word *berick* to be synonymous. *Broogh*, in Manx signifies a precipice. A few of them have names in some degree descriptive of the functions they discharged, as the *Cronk-ny-Myrrhiow*, the Hill of the Dead; the *Cronk-na-yrey-laa*, the Hill of the Watch by Day; *Cronk-na-Keeil-ayn*, the Hill of our own Church. Of those simply sepulchral, numerous and tolerably perfect specimens remain in the northern parishes of the Island, especially in the neighbourhood of Bishop's Court. But many of the best specimens contained in the northern parishes have been levelled. In one near Ballaugh, about ten feet high, which I opened about forty-five years ago, I found three small urns, about twelve inches high, of unbaked clay, and having a narrow beading encircling their margins. They lay inverted, and

separate, and near them were small chips of charcoal. The earth they contained was loaded with carbonaceous substances and other signs of cremation. The stony cairns containing the stone grave or *kist vaen* are for the most part found on high grounds or elevations, in the central parts of the parishes. The centres contain stone graves, which are very often square in form, having human bones laid promiscuously, or a skeleton with the thigh bones folded up towards the breast; but it is by no means uncommon to meet with calcined as well as uncalcined bones in them. Small groups of calcined chips of bones have been met with, carefully deposited in the cairn, without any urn and superincumbent to the central deposit. The *kist vaen* has also been met with without either of these remains, but merely enclosing an urn of the usual kind; an instance of which occurred near Crogga, in Santon, some years ago. Hence there is reason not only to conclude that the cairn, with the *kist vaen*, was not solely the grave of a single individual, but that interment in this fashion was used by the same people at the same period as incineration of the dead, which are good grounds for ascribing them to a very early era. The Cronk-na-Myrrhiow is a very good specimen of the barrow of the sepulchral kind, as we may presume from its name. It stands on the top of the sea-cliffs, on the left of the creek of Grainach, in the parish of Santon. It is an oblong and regularly-formed turfy mound, forty feet long, twenty feet broad, and twelve feet high, placed across the isthmus of a small insulated crag which overhangs the gravelly beach of the little estuary of Grainach, and occupies the approach to the edge of the cliff so completely as to leave only a narrow and precarious footpath on the south-eastern aspect. On the broogh behind it and inward, the mud foundations of a small oblong and frail tenement, covered with a luxuriant verdure, are very distinctly traceable, occupying nearly all the flat summit of the precipice, and combining with its simple solitude a degree of security rarely aimed at in such structures; this could only have been used as a religious retreat of no very ostentatious kind,—

perhaps the cell of a hermit. It has withstood the effects of time better than if it had been composed of more imposing materials; partly, perhaps, from being placed beyond the precincts of agricultural improvements; and to disturb its repose of ages, out of mere idle curiosity, would surely be considered little short of sacrilege in the neighbourhood. On the neighbouring farm of Kintraa, a gold ear-ring was found in 1860, a delineation of which is given in *Plate* ii, *fig.* 4, exactly resembling the ear-rings delineated in the vol. of antiquities entitled *Old England*, as Druidical ornaments.*

About a mile up the country, especially near Kirk Santon Church, the remains of the Druidical age were once numerous, and several barrows, flanked by rough but erect stones, as well as some circles of stones, are still to be found there. A large stone near the river is traditionally said to be a sacrificial one.

As another instance of the barrows, of a somewhat different construction from the hillock of the dead, the *Cronk-moar*, or the "large hillock," in the parish of Christ Rushen, is well worthy of notice. It stands a few hundred yards north of the Parish Church, in a morass or meadow, in a defile or low valley which opens into Port Erin Bay. It is generally known by the name of the "Fairy Hill," as being traditionally the favourite resort of those elfin people. It is a large truncated cone of mould, between thirty-five and forty feet high, and 450 feet in circumference at the base. On its summit there is an area upwards of twenty-five feet in diameter, surrounded by elevated edges in the form of a parapet five feet high. Its base is encircled by the remains of a deep and wide ditch, more particularly distinct towards the east and south. On the north the ditch divides the cronk or broogh from a raised embankment, which occupies the margin of the meadow on that side. Opposite to this terrace the ascent to the summit of the hill is much less precipitous than on the other sides, and is in some measure divided into lodgements or

* I have been informed that Mr. Curran, (1820,) of Knock Aaloe, in Glenfaba, has some similar ornaments and coins in his possession.

platforms, apparently of original formation. More in advance in the morass a second small and low barrow stands. It is worthy of remark that all the large specimens, like the one under consideration, have an attendant of this kind, and those that appear fortified are placed convenient for water, and otherwise in situations of a defensive nature.

The Fairy Hill is composed, as far as can be observed, of the gravelly soil from the adjoining banks of the morass, but when or by whom thrown up is totally unknown. It is said to have been raised over the body of King Reginald, who was slain near this place by the knight Suam or Ivar on the 6th of May, 1249. I am inclined to conclude that it was built for a far different purpose from that of a sepulchral monument. Its structure bears every evidence of its having been a fortified position for twelve or twenty men, and, excepting against missile weapons, it must have been a redoubt of no mean pretensions, in ages when, even in England, a hundred men were considered an army of a formidable description. It somewhat resembles the fortified hills which occur in Ireland, and is not unlike the moat hills in England. It is situated so as to oppose the advance of men landing at Port Erin on the west, or at Port-le-Moirey Bay on the east, which are the only landing places at this part of the Island. There are some tall erect stones near here, to the south, which are said to mark the place where a fight took place ages ago. Reginald being slain, was interred in the church of St. Mary of Rushen; but it is by no means unlikely that, according to the tradition, this barrow or the small one adjacent, may have been used as a place of interment for the dead. For it appears, from sections of the mounds which occupy the internal area of Peel Castle, where human bones have been frequently dug up, that it was one of the customs of the early ages to bury their dead in the defensive embankments of fortified places. There is another barrow of the same name on the farm of West Nappin, in Jurby, which, instead of having a flat summit, is terminated by a large grey stone.

Of the same description are the barrows denominated by the natives Broogh or Burrough. They invariably appear to have been fortified hills, single, or attended only by a barrow of a small size, being generally situated convenient to water, and surrounded by a ditch. On the southern acclivity of Cronk Glass or Mount Murray Hill,—on the Clannagh road leading to St. Mark's Chapel, half-way between the Santon river and the main road from Douglas to Castletown,—we find another example of the fortified broogh. Instead of being excavated or enclosed, it is flat on its summit, and besides the ditch surrounding it there are evident remains of circumvallation by two walls. This station is only known by the name of "The Broogh;" at a little distance westward there is a small barrow. Another example of this kind of station occurs on a low rocky precipice, on the shore, near the old chapel on the Island of St. Michael, at the eastern point of the peninsula of Langness, Derbyhaven, which, upon enquiry, I found to be known to some of the neighbours by the name of Ango or Hango Broogh. It is situated on a rock in the narrow channel between the Island of St. Michael's and the main land, and consists of ill-defined mounds of rubbish, of low elevation, but evidently artificial, and of considerable magnitude. It rises somewhat higher than the surrounding rocky shore, and forms an islet when the highest spring tides rise. From the land side a broad ascent or path is cut out of the rock, with grooves formed across instead of steps, which leads in a sweep to the Broogh. A few hundred yards from this place, on the southern limb of Derbyhaven Bay, and not far from the edge of the water, there are some small and low barrows, and also some indistinct traces of miserable obliterated looking foundations. They have been a good deal encroached upon by cultivation, and, like many others of the same kind, would be passed unnoticed by a person not observant of such things. An ancient coin was found at this place many years ago.

These appearances of ancient habitations on this coast favour some superstitions of the natives, which I have heard expressed

in the form of tradition, regarding the existence, in former ages, of a splendid city at Langness, which is supposed to be still sometimes seen from the hills, raising its gilded turrets and bristling battlements above the surface of the waves, and which would ultimately be realized in future times. I heard this legend from some of the inhabitants of the hills inland, when attending protracted professional business. These ruins are curious, and favour in some degree the etymology of the title of Sodor given by Buchanan, and, I think, Spottiswoode or Hector Boethius, as being derived from the phrase *Ecclesia Soterensis*, the *Soterense fanum*, built by the first Christian settlers, on an Island near Castletown, in honour of the Saviour,—a derivation which their opponents deny, partly because there is no such island and no traces of such a church ever having existed, but principally because they prefer their explanation of the title Sodor, from the Norwegian word *Sudor*, signifying "southern," in contradistinction to the word *Norder*, two ecclesiastical divisions of territory in the time of the Norwegians.* The seat of the latter of which being at Drontheim, in Norway, the former is alleged to have originated when the Norwegians acquired the sovereignty of this Island. It ought to be observed that this latter etymology is an opinion of very modern date, notwithstanding its ingenuity, whilst the other, however questionable its authors may be, is certainly a matter of history, though related at a time when historians could not be quite certain about the truth of the facts of their case. Can this broogh, then, this round redoubt of earth, be the *Soterense fanum?* It stands on an Island. The name Hango Broogh is much against the argument, and is more calculated to lead into speculations regarding the original condition of those modern burghs or towns which are now so numerous, than to confirm the above suggestion.†

The Tynwald Hill, with St. John's Chapel annexed, is a variety

* In the Norwegian Sagas the Orkneys are the Sudoreys.

† See Peter Haylin's *Help to History*. I shall return to this period when I speak of the Christian remains of antiquity.

of the artificial hillock, the summit of which is the post of honour, just as defences on the summit of brooghs were the parts of greatest importance, when earthworks were in vogue on the Island as its principal means of war. The Tynwald Hill continues to be used for its original functions even to this very day. Tradition affirms that it was constructed of earth contributed by the inhabitants from every district. From its summit every new Legislative Act must be promulgated, according to ancient custom, before it is binding upon the people; hence it gives its name to that court of law where the entire Legislature meets the population of the Island in social compact. The name of this Cronk is a compound of two Celtic words, *Ting* and *Val*, signifying the "fenced" or "guarded judicial Court," and from it any assemblage of the entire Legislature is called the Tynwald Court. There are instances recorded of such meetings of the Legislature and the people having taken place at Reneurling, or Cronk Urleigh, or Eagle Hill, near Kirk Michael, as early as the fifteenth century; and also at a Cronk above the old Treen chapel called Keeil Albin, which stands on the acclivity of the mountain Ben-y-pot, in Baldwin; and they are also frequently held at Castle Rushen. In modern times the meeting of the Legislature and the people is uniformly held on Midsummer Day, the 5th of July, at the Judicial Hill of St. John's, which is also known to the people by the name of Cronk-na-Keeillown, probably a corruption of the Cronk of Keeil John. The Tynwald Hill is a grass-covered obtruncated cone, about 12 feet high, 240 in circumference at the base, and 21 at the summit. Its acclivity is cut into three circular terraces, rising above each other, and all approached by a flight of wide steps made in the grassy sod, on the eastern side, towards the Chapel, for the accommodation of the authorities during the ceremony of promulgating the laws. It would be foreign to my subject to enter into a detail of this ceremony, which has been already often recorded; suffice it say that by tracing the history of judicial hills, we may be enabled in some degree to suggest the era of similar structures as they

are found in this Island. The denomination is met with in Scotland, in the name of the parish of Tinwald, Dumfrieshire, where the ruins of an ancient castellan existed, and numerous warlike weapons of the Dalraed Scots have been found in the bogs of the vicinity. I believe that neither the Danes or Norwegians, nor any of the Northmen ever established themselves in that part of Scotland, although they may have done so at Dingwall, on the Moray Firth. Early writers, I think Orosius for one, tell us that the Scots were the principal inhabitants of the Isle of Man and the north of Ireland in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, and the language of those primitive Celts of that name continues to prevail, as well as many of their customs, amongst our peasantry to this day. But whether the Tynwald existed at the time of Orosius, must remain unknown. Insular tradition, however, and the records of the fifteenth century, inform us that this mode of promulgating the laws had continued since the days of the Orrys; and we are farther informed that when the Western Islands were divided by Somerled, a Scotsman, and his descendants, into baronies, the chief men held courts, "*sub Deo*," on the tops of hills called "Knocks;" and it is probable that several of those just mentioned were used for purposes of this kind. But from the foregoing pages we have much reason to conclude that these judicial and other hillocks existed long anterior to the days of Somerled; that they were common to all the tribes of the Celtic nations, and in all probability were in existence before the introduction of Christianity: at any rate, the foregoing considerations give the Tynwald Hill, and the barrows of a similar construction, a very high antiquity.*

The following graphic description on the subject of barrows we find in the parochial report of the Rev. W. Kermode, of

* "The Bardic successors of the Druids preserved many of the ideas and usages of their predecessors, and have transmitted them in writing. Thus, according to Meagant, one of this race who lived in the seventh century, the Bards had their Hill of Legislation, or Sacred Mount, where the *ancient judges* of the land assembled to decide the cause of the people."—The Rev. W. Kermode, from Davis's *Mythology of the Druids.*

Ramsey:—"In a field on the estate of Ballastole, not far from the ancient Treen Chapel of Ballure, there was a mound of considerable dimensions, which, from feelings of respect for places sacred to the dead, or other causes, had been spared by the plough till about ten years ago, when it was broken up (as would appear) for the first time, and added to the field. I inspected it at the time, and from its general appearance had no doubt it was one of those barrows or mounds of sepulture, at one period so numerous on the Island. It had on the top the usual *kist vaen*,—a rude stone grave, consisting of a few upright stones with a large heavy slab resting on the top; within were found some very small pieces of unbaked pottery, with a black substance which was probably charred human bones. From the fact of the grave standing south and north, I should consider it of a date anterior to the introduction of Christianity, probably marking the resting place of some old Scandinavian warrior. Frequent ploughings and cultivation have now almost obliterated it."

At this point of my observations, and before proceeding to enumerate other remarkable earthworks, I shall notice some individual carnaens and barrow-like structures, not referable to the class of sepulchral altars or fortified hillocks, in order to avoid confusion in my narrative as much as possible. I mean the grouped barrows, the watch and ward stations, and the carnaens that mark the extreme boundaries of parishes. Examples of the grouped barrows occur in various parts. A number of small low barrows may be seen on the mountain of Archollagan, near Old Foxdale, on a level part of the hill which has never been under cultivation, and just the place for a pitched fight on a small scale, being on the ancient line of mountain road from Douglas to Peel, by the district of the Cooil, and from Castletown by St. Mark's Chapel. On the estate of Ballanicholas, near this group, are some small fortified hills. Groups of two or three barrows used to be seen also adjacent to St. John's, as if part of the establishment of the Tynwald, or relics of the fights that took place there. One of them immediately north of it, on the oppo-

site side of the road, was bisected within twenty years last past, in widening the road, and was found to enclose a stone coffin and other mementos of the dead. Groups also existed near Bishop's Court, and in the parishes of Ballaugh and Andreas; where often one of them was larger, as if of more importance than the others.

As an example of the boundary cairn, there is the Carnaen Ben or Bedn, where the parishes of Braddan and Onchan meet, on the mountain called Monacur, at the head of East Baldwin, towards Snafield. It is unnecessary to notice more of these.

Stations for watch and ward occupy the heights along the coast in every direction, and all round the Island. These are especially remarkable on the western coast. From the Cronk ny Erey Lhaa, or the Hill of the Watch by Day, on the coast of Jurby, they extend westward to Peel Castle, where there is a round tower and very distinct barrow-like mounds, and thence eastward across the Island, and south-westward by the Cronk ny Erey Lhaa, in Arbory, the name of a peak in the mountain range, which has a cairn of stones on its top, and is also an excellent landmark at sea. The watch and ward has been set on these within the memory of man, and the burning faggot passed from parish to parish; but of course little attention is now paid to the accompaniment of the cronk or carnaen, which is principally deserving of notice now as pointing out the great antiquity of many of the internal regulations in reference to the defence of the country. It is recorded in history that the Manx were in early times brave and warlike as a nation, defending themselves successfully and assisting the Celtic tribes around them against their enemies, or making incursions into their territories by turns; but for many centuries they have lost much of that character, and the necessity of defending their lands against a foreign enemy is lost and forgotten. This change, doubtless, is to be ascribed in a great measure to the peaceable state of the Island in modern times, for they are now content to remain quiet under the paramount protection of England.

The earthworks, apparently fortified, and also the small encamp-

ments called *castles* by the Manx, are found all along the coast in various stages of ruin. It is remarkable that they occur most frequently on the eastern and southern parts of the Island; on the sea coast, near the estuaries of rivers and creeks and streams of water, with their strongest fronts facing the sea shore; whether for the purposes of resisting invasion or as positions of strength of a people already in possession of the country it is uncertain to conjecture. It may be remarked that I have been unable to find out any such specimens on the north-western coast excepting Peel Castle, and, perhaps, the Bishop's Court, of which more hereafter.

As instances of the small positions of defence, and of enclosures to which the inhabitants might retreat, I may point out one on the north bank of Port-e-chee Claddagh, on the right of the road to Peel; one at Castle Ward, above the village of Tromode; one on the broogh near the estuary of Santon river; one on the Ballaquayle stream, near Douglas, about 150 yards from its estuary, now made into a garden; one in Gloin Gawne, Laxey bay, near the Cloven Stones, which is constructed on a natural hillock; and one in a plantation near the Dhoon bridge, Maughold; and the foundations of others which have been erased and ruined.*

* As evidence of an intercourse between the Island and Britain in very early ages, I may state that Beda says that in his time it was peopled by about 300 families, and Anglesey contained 900. A gold coin of Athelred II. was found in the north of the Island, and another turned up at a mound of earth on the farm of Gordon, in the parish of Kirk Patrick, a few years ago. There is, therefore, reason to conclude that the Saxons and Welch frequented the country before the settlement of the Danes in Britain, and may have left lasting traces of their warlike power. Worsaae states that the five burghs, or the *fem burghene*, viz., Stamford, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln, belonged to the Danes as early as the reign of Alfred (872), but he does not say that the Danes constructed these burghs and founded their cities, and it is well understood that similar burghs were very general in Saxon England and in the south of Scotland; in the latter country they never established themselves. It is most probable, therefore, that the fortified stations or brooghs of this Island belong to an age coeval with, if not antecedent to the Welch and Saxon invasions of the sixth and seventh centuries. Cæsar, speaking of the Ancient Britons, says, "Oppidum vocant Britannicum cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt."

On the highest summit of the mountain South Barrool there are remains of a formidable enclosure, in the form of a dry wall of stones, which surrounds a space of a circular form of one hundred and fifty yards in diameter. The approach to this encampment on the north side is an easy ascent, and the ruins here are above nine yards wide, forming a mound of foundations of no mean dimensions. On the southern aspect the wall has been much narrower and weaker, and perpendicular to the brow of the cliff there which is inaccessible, and is filled up inside so as to form a raised way and a parapet. The mountain stretches away to the north-east in the form of an extensive table land, 1,500 feet above the level of the sea. There can be little doubt that this large enclosure or encampment has been constructed for safety and defence against depredators invading the surrounding districts of the Island. South Barrool is the only Manx mountain concerning which we have legends, except Snaefeld. It was anciently called Wardfell, or Warfell, or, as the Norwegian chroniclers have it, Worzefell. The country people talk also of the Wolf of Barrool, and about a giant that inhabited it, of which it is useless to repeat. There can be little doubt, however, that this enclosure constituted a place of safe retreat in time of danger for the neighbouring inhabitants, and I mention it here as an instance of the singularly inhospitable sites selected for such retreats.

The cairns and stone altars met with in the interior are merely a rude heap of low elevation, variously constructed, and frequently appear to have undergone the action of fire, the mould in their base being black and ashes-like. Sometimes they very much resemble the single barrow; sometimes they have large stones variously placed; sometimes one large and solitary block of white quartz stands at the southern base; sometimes several stones placed on end, like remnants of a circle, or as entrance posts; and sometimes the whole arrangement remains so complete as to appear like a stone circle or an altar of the Druids. These vary from four to ten yards in diameter, and from two to five feet in height,

lower and more obscure looking than the fortified position or judicial hill.

As an example of this kind of artificial collection of stones, is that called the Cloven Stones, (from one of the tall erect stones on it being cleft longitudinally,) on the right side of the road leading from Douglas to Laxey, about six miles from the former place. Tradition says that this cairn is the grave of a Welsh Prince who invaded the Island, and landed at the south angle of Laxey Bay, near which it stands, and who was slain in his first engagement with the natives. But this appears to be a suppositious notion, and it is much more probable that the cairn of Cloven Stones was the sepulchre of the inhabitants of the broogh up the gill, named Gloin Gawne, already mentioned, and also was used as their temple of worship. It was entire when Feltham wrote his *Tour* in the Island, and he has given a good delineation of it, but since his time it was broken up by the Laxey miners, in hopes of finding hidden treasure, instead of which they found only the gloomy remains of decayed and oblivious mortality, carefully deposited in a stone chest. On the quarterland of Ballachrink, in the parish of Kirk Onchan, there is a ruin somewhat of the same kind, with a circle of stones at its base. About a hundred yards towards the west its attendant tumulus stands, and not far distant the indistinct remains of a circular encampment. On the neighbouring farm of Ballacottier is seen a cairn composed principally of stones that seem to have undergone the action of fire. There is, also, near to the mountain gate of the Cronk-na-Mona Road, a group of barrows, and at two or three points on the estate of Ballanard decided signs of cremation of the soil are pointed out. The Cronk-na-Bullen, in Kirk Bride, has also something of the structure of the cairn, but the mound of earth is much larger than that of those in the interior of the country. Many others exist in various parts of the Island, some of which I will have occasion to notice as I proceed.

The semi-lunar form of placing erect stones is well exemplified

in the parish of Arbory, about a mile up the mountain acclivity, west from Culby, by Bell Abbey. This crescent comprises four tall stones, standing about twelve feet distant from each other, each upward of eight feet high, massive in proportion, hoary with age, and grown over with bristling moss. A few paces eastward from this there are two low tumuli similar to those that accompany the brooghs. It has been supposed that these crescent-formed monuments of stone were dedicated to the Moon, whilst the entire circles were sacred to the Sun. In the immediate vicinity there is a Treen Chapel named Keeil Pherik, which is doubtless of a date subsequent to the Druidical stones and the barrows, and concerning which I shall enlarge under the proper head. Another cairn of considerable dimensions stands on the acclivity of Laxey Glen, on the farm of Critch-veg. This example comprises a series of stones on the east, placed in a semi-lunar or circular form, from which a flat terrace of loose stones leads westward to the brow of a ravine, where it terminates in a large cairn of stones thirty feet in diameter, out of which rises a tall thin conical slab, to the height of ten feet and upwards, in a picturesque manner. These two objects—the broogh on the west and the semi-circle of stones on the east—are distant from each other upwards of forty yards. The terrace connecting them is bisected by the highroad, and on being opened was found to be made up of two rows of immense flat boulders placed edgeways, four feet apart, and inclining inwards towards each other, so as to form an arch. Was this a low passage between the two extremities, or was it a vault for the remains of the dead ?* The popular opinion votes for the latter, for it has been christened "King Orry's Grave." I well remember, however, that before the terrace was opened, and the discovery of the immense slabs of stone on edge made, this ruin had no such appellation and was nameless.

The Druidical circles are not remarkable either for their number, magnitude, or state of preservation; some have dis-

* A tooth and other remains of the horse were found in the vault, but it was only excavated to a small extent.—See *Appendix*.

appeared altogether, owing to various causes. Two or three are however, worthy of notice. Like to the cairn altars, they often occupy the districts of the Island most difficult of access. That composed of blocks of white quartz on the brow of the hill of Ballewn, in the parish of Malew, about half-a-mile from the Church, before it was dilapidated by agricultural improvement, is an exception to this observation. The stones forming the circle of this temple enclosed an area of about ten yards in diameter. On the south, two were placed in the form of a portal, opposite to which, in the area, on the north side, stood formerly a large block of granite, which was removed by the father of the present proprietor, Thomas Moore, Esq. This ruin is curious principally because adjoining it two modes of interment are exemplified. Immediately in the rear stood a mound similar to an old fence, which, on being taken down many years ago, was found to contain a number of urns; and beyond this, on the top of the hill, there is an extensive cemetery of the dead, arranged in stone graves. This latter mode of interment is the same as that which has been in use at the old chapels so numerous on the Island, which I shall notice hereafter, and which we have reason to think are of a Christian origin. There are also rather extensive ruins, of a similar kind to the above, on Mr. Fitzsimmons' farm, half-a-mile on the mountain road; likewise, Runic stones in the burial-yard of the parochial Church. Another small circle of short grey pillars, having a mound adjoining it, in a manner similar to that at Ballewn, stood at one time on the declivity of Mount Murray. This circle has a fountain close by, but whether urns are enclosed in its embankments remains unascertained. Another very small one stands perched in a recess on the edge of the precipitous cliffs at Spanish Head, which are upwards of two hundred feet in perpendicular height above the surface of the water, and close to the well-known *Chasms* that traverse the face of that promontory. In itself, this is a small specimen of common place appearance, but it certainly is one which, from the wild and lonely spot that it occupies, could only have been

resorted to by the hermit or pilgrim. Placed in a recess of this solitary cliff, I cannot suppose that it is a tomb with no barrow or vestige of incineration near it. It is more probably a hermitage cell.

The same kind of devotional feelings predominate, it would appear, in most religious beliefs; and we have not only reason to conclude that the solitary life led by the Druids of old became a precedent for the hermitage of the Christian ascetics of the middle ages, but we are also informed by historians that monastic institutions were by no means unknown to their system. Mela, who flourished in the first century, speaking of the Druidesses called "Sena," that is, venerable or aged women, who devoted their lives to virginity and lived in sisterhoods, describes a Druidical nunnery, situated in an island of the British Sea, which contained nine of these vestals, who pretended to raise storms and tempests, to transform themselves into all kinds of animals, to predict future events, and who were consulted by the people upon all important occasions as infallible oracles. Hence we see the origin of many of the superstitious delusions which beset the minds of the ignorant to this very day. *Shenn*, in Manx, signifies "old;" *chenndiaght*, the "elder," or old person of the family. It is worthy of remark that four ancient cottages* or huts adjoining Douglas on the north, but distinguished particularly from the town, were called "*Shena*," and give the same name to this suburb, which is a singular coincidence with the Sena of Mela. Those versed in the tradition of the neighbourhood say that these cottages constituted the most ancient part of Douglas, and still magnify them to the importance of "*the ancient city of Sena*." Although this by no means implies that what Mela tells us is referable to this Island, yet it has a tendency to confirm his story, and adds force to the proposition that many of the customs of the Christians of the middle ages were borrowed from the Druids.

Besides the simple circle, or that with tumuli adjacent, others

* These cottages were pulled down in 1830.

are found having ruins of considerable magnitude attached to them. This conjunction, even of the most imperfect of them, is curious. I discovered one of this kind many years ago, remarkably well defined in outline.—(See Vol. ii., part 2. in the *Transactions of the Scottish Antiquaries, Plate* M). It stands on the top of a cultivated low hill in the parish of Maughold, south from Cornah Bridge, in one of the most primitive arable districts in the Island, where things seem to have remained on the little farms in the same state for ages. I was directed to this ruin by the late Very Reverend Vicar-General Cubbon, who called it the Castle Ree Orry. When I first saw it, the circle of stones occupied the corner of a field, and the parallelogram contiguous to it appeared a platform about four feet high, of an uneven surface and covered with the green sod. The circle, composed of massive stones, stood on its southern end, seemingly an object of minor importance. Since that time the oblong platform has been erased for the sake of the stones it contained, when the proprietor was building a new dwelling house. The circle, however, remains untouched, and the general outline of the whole is sufficiently apparent. The circumference of the whole ruin is 90 yards, and the diameter of the circle 10 yards. This structure cannot be said to be merely a grave or burial place. The people living in the vicinity call it Castle-ree-Orry or King Orry's Castle, and an adjacent farm is named Ballagorry. Compounds of the name Orry—such as Orrysdale, Ballachorry, Gorry Keeil,—are met with in several parishes; and tradition still associates with the name of Orry the compilation of the Manx code and constitution. The ruin just described appears to have been a dwelling of some importance, having a Druidical circle or temple attached. Can it have been a residence of King Orry? At any rate, it is an example of some important structure existing in ages to which are ascribed the Temples of the Druids. We have no grounds of certainty for saying that King Orry, or those sovereigns of Mona to whom the Manx constitution of law and customs, and the consolidation of the

royal prerogatives and regalities are ascribed, were Christians, though there can be no doubt that many of the population were so, for according to the statute-book the Deemster and the Elders of the Island gave this to be the traditional law on the accession of the Stanleys, 1419. Christians, as well as Pagans, from a very early age, had formed the groundwork of many customary usages. The Orrys are said to have been Danish, and were coeval with Danish government in England, and were driven from the sovereignty of Man in 1065.* Denmark, we know, was not converted to Christianity till about this time, and the *Saxon Chronicle* contains many instances of conversions to Christianity and baptizings of the Danes who invaded England in succession. Cnute, the Danish king of England, whose coins have been found on the Island, saw it necessary, in the eleventh century, to enact a law or ordinance consisting of the following words :—"We strictly forbid all our subjects to worship the Gods of the Gentiles, that is to say, the sun, moon, fire, and rivers, fountains, hills, and trees, and woods of any kind." What, then, must have been the religious condition of this Island which had so much intercourse with the Northmen? For these reasons, I think it is not altogether imaginary nor contradictory to history to suppose that this Castle-ree-Orry might have been the domicile of Pagans long antecedent to the eleventh century, and is a curious relic, illustrative of the ethnology and the civilization of the island in the dark ages.

The statement that St. Patrick, and the bishops he left in charge of the Manx bishopric from 444 downwards, had recourse to arms to drive out the Pagan inhabitants; would appear from these and other ruins of a similar kind, not to be entirely without foundation. If Spottiswood's opinion be correct, that this Island, and not Anglesea, was the residence

* Among the last of the Orrys was Goddard, the son Sygtrig, king of the Isles, early in the 11th century. His pedigree, given in Johnstone's *Celto Normanica*, stands thus:—"Goddard, mac Iterig, mac Aulay, mac Iterig, mac Aulay, mac Iterig, king of Northumberland." It would, therefore, appear that the Orrys were of a Northumbrian connection.

of the President of the Druids, we may safely imagine that it was no easy matter to drive them out. That heathen priesthood ruled their subjects with despotic and sanguinary sway, and as, on the whole, they governed according to abstract justice and in a patriarchal manner, doubtless they saddled them with laws and customs calculated to make their government steady and enduring. We know also from history that as the primitive Christians of England and others found it expedient to take shelter in parts remote from the power that oppressed them, so we will find that the ruins of places of Christian worship which possess an architecture ascribable to the earliest ages of civilization in Britain are more numerous than the places of worship even in modern times, which not only indicates the character of the ancient inhabitants of the Isle of Man to have been highly religious, but also that the population in these early ages was much more numerous than is supposed.

Worsaae, in his *Danes and Northmen*, is of opinion that the cairns and stone circles we have been noticing are all places of sepulture and not Druidical circles,—that they were the graves of those warlike Northmen who had become Christians in the Isle of Man, before the Scandinavian nations had embraced that religion. On the contrary, other observers are of opinion that the position of the kist-vaen, north and south, and the evident symptoms of cremation found in them, are decisive of their being the remains of a heathen people and not of Christians. According to all recorded testimony lately published, the dynasty of Godred Cronan, from 1066 to 1265, were good Roman Catholics by whom urns and cremation had been abandoned. We cannot, therefore, assign to that Scandinavian race, or to their era, the altars bearing evident traces of bones, and stones, and earth that have undergone the action of fire; and these remains are so numerous and general all over the Island that we cannot ascribe them to a few individuals, but must of necessity look upon them as the remains of antiquity belonging to a numerous people who were in possession of the entire Island at a

period antecedent to Christianity. Cremation of the dead is known to have prevailed amongst most eastern nations, and continued with their descendants after they had peopled the different parts of Europe. In fine, the civilization of the east appears to have been that which was planted in the west by the earliest Celtic peoples.

THE KEEILS OF EARLY CHRISTIANS.

Those mounds or hillocks referable to Christian origin generally bear some name, mark, or tradition, which identifies them with Christianity. They consist of ruined hillocks of earth and of mud enclosures, which are generally places of interment, and, till very lately, some of the inscribed crosses called Runic pillars, were found in them. Excepting their being designated by some name, the history of these ruined mounds is involved in almost as much obscurity as those of the Druidical age, and to all appearance they are quite as ancient. The monuments of the two religions, which we have frequently seen to have existed together at the same time, have already presented a mixed condition of civilization, and in both of them we may suppose were portrayed those customs distinctive of their several eras in a greater or less degree, according to circumstances. Feltham notices a cross planted on the summit of a barrow, outside the precincts of the parish churchyard of Ballaugh,—the Keeil of the Christian planted near the altar of the heathen, in opposition to each other,—I think we have already seen some examples of this, and others will occur as we proceed.

A small monument of this anomalous character is a carved stone which I found on the southern headland of Port Soderick Bay, near a heap of immemorial rubbish, called The Old Chapel, on the estate of Balnahow, Santon.* It is only the top part of a pillar broken off. It is very hard, and retains the carvings, which are slight, with much integrity and sharpness. These represent neither the cross in its ordinary form, nor any of the

* Vol. ii., No. 2., *Transactions of Scottish Antiquaries*, Fig. A, No. 1.

emblems that are distinctive of Christianity, but still I believe it represents the cross somewhat like the Maltese inclosed in a circle. That it belonged to the small mound in the neighbourhood, called "The Old Chapel," is probable, but not certain. Within the memory of man it had been lying about unappropriated, excepting for some years, when it was used by a cottager as a kind of domestic sideboard. Its carvings represent the circle, enclosing a cross formed by crescentic lines in a variety of combinations, not unlike the triquetra knot; and in them the idea of the Gothic arch readily presents itself to the observer. A few of the carved Runic crosses in some degree exhibit this curved contour, but there is a manifest difference in the object intended to be represented. The only similarity, in this instance, appears to be in the convolutions and the similitude of an animal, most likely a horse, on which a man's figure is mounted. If, from these considerations, we can look upon this relic as belonging to the Pagan era, it is a most interesting one, and furnishes an original to the cruciform pillars of the Christians. If this is allowed to be Druidical, it is a solitary specimen, for I am not aware of another that has been subjected to the chisel; on the contrary, history shows that in some instances the altars and monuments of primitive nations were indispensably constructed of unhewn stones. From the injury this has received, it has most likely escaped destruction with some difficulty; the reason why none others of a similar character have been found most probably is from their not having been gathered into places of safety after the manner of those of a decidedly Christian origin, which are all now placed within (or near) the precincts of the consecrated grounds of the parish churches.

In conversation on this subject, an indistinct story was given me to the following effect, by some intelligent Manxmen, whether gleaned from history or transmitted by oral tradition I pretend not to say;—that upon Christianity becoming the prevailing religion, those attached to the Druidical superstition were driven

into the wildest and most difficult parts of the country, like that where this stone was found, and resisted their opponents at the point of the sword. Monuments belonging to them being found for the most part in such situations, certainly gives some colour of truth to the report.

Other ancient carved pillars, evidently crosses, are numerous, one or more Runic stones being found at most of the parish churches. With an exception or two, they are all slabs of a hard and fibrous blue clay slate, which is found in the Island. Excepting that last described, they are all decorated with the sign of the cross and otherwise covered with convoluted ornamentations, snake-like carvings, and rude representations of various creatures, principally domestic animals. (Representations of the serpent, even among Pagans, are considered emblems of eternity; but Mr. French, of Bolton, thinks these convolutions are merely copies or imitations of the primitive crosses of the Britons in England, which were made of basket or wicker work.)* Many of these stones are exceedingly rudely executed, the cross being represented by four holes placed in the head of the pillar at right angles to each other, and cut right through the stone. Many of them are lying about unappropriated in the burial-grounds of the parish churches, or have been used as paving flags, whilst those in the best preservation are erected in conspicuous parts of the precints. There is no account as to the manner in which they have congregated at the present churches; but it is understood by some of the natives that originally they occupied other situations, and instances of this are given in

* Before the Incas of Peru and their vast empire were destroyed by the invading Spaniards, the Peruvians had not attained to the art of hieroglyphic writing practised by the Mexicans. They employed, instead of the Quipu, a twisted cord, with a fringe of various coloured threads, on which, by means of knots, they were able to record historical events and legislative enactments; the tangled skein, however, merely serving as aid to the memory of persons employed to preserve them. By this means the Peruvians could calculate with remarkable rapidity and narrate with great fluency, events partly preserved by oral tradition. This we know from the chronicles of the Spanish invasion, but unfortunately we have lost the art of reading the Quipus. Repeated attempts to read it having been made without success.

Waldron's work. This traditionary belief is confirmed by three or more facts: first, by the stone just described having been found several miles distant from any of the present churches; second, by the cross at Port-le-Voillen, which stands by the side of the way leading from Ramsey to Maughold Church; and, third, by a pillar about seven feet high, whose carvings are obliterated, but which is an ancient cross, and which is placed at the crossing of the roads near Port Erin, in the parish of Rushen. Indeed, it is well-known that in Roman Catholic countries of old crosses stood everywhere. Waldron, in his account of the superstitions of the Manx people, mentions that there existed, in his time, a cross in a wild and barren field, at a considerable distance from the church of Braddan, which they wished to remove—to where, or for what purpose, he does not inform us; but, very probably, it is one of those at present in the churchyard.* It may be added that several of the fonts used by the Romanists remain in the parish burial-grounds to this day, unappropriated. The veneration of the natives for such objects is very tenacious, and their ancestors have handed down an ancient saying expressive of their superstitious respect for religious relics—"*Clagh ny keeilagh ayns corneil dty hie wooar,*" ("May a stone of the church be found in the corner of thy dwelling.") It is most probable that many of these old stones belonged to the numerous chapels, one of which, called Keeil Albin, above Baldwin, possesses to this day its cross rudely cut upon a rough slab of granite, which was built into the gable of the present St. Luke's Chapel, when it was lately erected on the old site.

TREEN CHAPELS.

The *debris* of the mounds found in every part of the Island called and generally known as the Treen Chapels, are principally

* Since writing the above, I have found out that a carved stone belonging to the Cronk-ny-Keeil-ayn, at Ballalough, German, was buried many feet underground by a man still living, in consequence of a superstitious belief entertained by some of the neighbours, that a murrain then prevalent among the cattle took its rise from its laying tossed about. If this is a runic stone it would decide the question.

interesting as being (in the absence of all records) the only index in existence of the condition of Christianity in the Isle of Man in the early ages,—those ages in which its history is extinct, and out of which a new order of things has arisen. Mr. Rolt, in 1773, says, "There were formerly many chapels in the Island, some of which remain. The most remarkable non-parochial chapel is that of St. John the Evangelist, at the Tynwald Mount, which is in use to this day." The Treen Chapel of Ballure, near Ramsey, has been repaired within the last twenty years for the use of the town. These chapels are for the most part situated on low hills and other elevated situations, like that on the top of Bulrenny Hill, near Mount Murray, and that on Archollogan, opposite Greeba. Many of them have distinct appellations—as the Keeil Vine and Cabbal Nicholas on the east broogh of the Laxey Harbour; the Cabbal Keeil Vael, on thr barony lands of Maughold; the "Keeil Pherrick-a-Drumma," (the "Kirk Patrick on the Hill;") Keeil Albin, already mentioned, has nominally a hereditary domestic chaplain attached to it in the proprietor of Awhallyon, a neighbouring farm. This Treen Chapel has been re-built, and has become a station of the Diocesan Association for the supply of Curates in remote districts; and a third, near St. Mark's, was covered in till lately, and I have learnt that, within the last sixty years, the Setting Quest Jury, for regulating the boundaries of lands, have met in one for the purpose of prayer before entering upon their duties. Except the above, they are all very small, and some of them are more like a small barrow, having an excavation on the top, than anything else, like the Cronk-ny-Keeil-ain (or Cronk-y-Lhaune) at Ballalough, near Peel. Others appear to have been built of large stones and mud, and they are invariably surrounded by enclosed spaces of ground, generally small, but in some rather extensive, which, in all that have been examined, are found to be as burial-grounds. At the Cabbal Keeil Vael, on the barony of Maughold, the graves are marked by upright stones.* The bones are often found undecayed,

* *Vide* Appendix of Chapter II.

and laid longitudinally from east to west. The graves are generally for various sizes, young and old, constructed of mountain schist, and, in one instance at Cronk Rule, the precincts of the grave are marked outside by a corresponding arrangement of schistus, placed edgeways in the surface-sod. This simple memorial is another example of the surprising integrity in which monuments of this kind in this Island have come down to our days—a slate set edgeways on the surface having been undistured for hundreds of years.

No connection can be traced between these Keeils, and they are supposed to have been a kind of patriarchal or domestic chapels, erected according to the primitive custom of the first Christians of the country; and tradition hints that they were occasionally supplied by the Monks itinerating from the monasteries. It is found that every *treen* (a kind of baronial-like division of territory, comprising three or more quarterlands) for the most part is possessed of one. Hence they are called the Treen Chapels.* To illustrate how numerous these old chapels are, I may state that five or more occur within two miles of each other in the parishes of Braddan and Marown, one almost to every quarterland: for example, there is one on the estate of Castleward, one on Camlork, one on Cronk Rule, one on Ballaquinnea, and others in the immediate vicinity, all in the cultivated lands;† and stone graves have been found at Kirk Marown, under the consecrated ground.

I have been informed that chapels of a similar kind exist in

* Cregeen's *Dictionary* says that "Treen" means a township (or broogh) that divides tithe into three.

† A solitary tumulated ruin remaining for ages undisturbed in a field merely because it is called a *keeil*, is a striking instance of the veneration with which the Manx regard such things. A veneration for ante-historic superstitions is a certain indication that an element of religion and the fear of God is powerfully implanted in the mind, either for good or for evil, and inspires a man with a conviction that he is designed for higher ends than he is able to comprehend. This principle, which every one possesses, more or less, when well cultured, elevates the moral condition of man, but without education produces grovelling superstition and obstinate bigotry, often of the most destructive kind.

Norway; and if they bear any relation to these, for reasons already stated, I would take the Island to be the original. Whatever influence the Danes and Norwegians had in regulating the laws and form of government of the Manx in the middle ages, they had little or no effect in changing either their language or their customs, or their religion; on the contrary, there can be no doubt that their influence in religious matters was very limited in this Island, where religious habits had been formed centuries before the Northmen adopted and practised the doctrines of the Gospel.

Several intrinsic appearances place the majority of the old chapels as far back as the age of hillocks. But they nevertheless manifestly belong to a different civilization; for we find that whilst the Druidical hillocks are undistinguished by any traditional name, and have fallen into an entire oblivion, these Keeils are marked by associations which have distinctly a Christian origin. Like the monuments already spoken of, the old Keeils, by being mixed or conjoined with the Cronks, Knocks, or Barrows of the Pagans, demonstrate the policy of the primitive Christians in this Island to have been not to despise or annihilate the prejudices of the people. It is uncertain at what time the change of religions began here. Capgrave states it to have been A.D. 63. Archbishop Spottiswood relates that the persecution of Diocletian, in the beginning of the fourth century, forced many Christians, amongst other places of retreat, into the Island, who were well received by Cartalinth, King of Mann. He not only gave them the necessary support, but built for them a church, which in honour of the Saviour, was called *Soterense Fanum*. A third account, by the Primate of Armagh, runs thus:—That Pope Gregory having sent St. Patrick and others to propagate Christianity in the British Isles, he landed here on his way to Ireland, in 444, and was very successful in his labours. Some have gone so far as not only to deny all these stories, but to question whether such a man as St. Patrick ever lived. But, however early Christianity was introduced, these keeils and hillock cemeteries

can only be referred to a very primitive period; it has in the foregoing pages appeared probable that Christianity did not gain an undisturbed possession of the country till after a protracted period of opposition from Druidism; and of course the ruins spoken of will be of different degrees of antiquity. There can be little doubt that, at whatever time the first treen chapels were built, we possess in them good specimens of the civilization, and of the primitive establishments of the first Christians in this country, and the miserable nature of their architecture. The Cronk-Keeil-ayn, with its stone graves already mentioned, I take to be an example of the most ancient kind; and were it not for the associations of name and the mode of interment, it is so like an ordinary barrow, that it could not be supposed to be the ruins of a Christian place of worship. "Keeil-ayn" occurs in an idiomatic saying of the natives: to this day, when they wish to tell that there will be no service on a given day, they say, "There will be neither *clag* nor *keeil-ayn*," neither at the parochial church nor at our own treen chapel. The use of the *clag*, that is, the larger or parish church bell, at places of Christian worship, began in the beginning of the fifth century, and they are often mentioned in history after the sixth and seventh. The word "*keeil-ayn*" is not given in Cregeen, but in the surrounding district *Kiawlane* is understood to signify a little bell.

Besides the Keeil-ayn and those just mentioned there are Keeil Vael on the estate of Balladoole, the Keeil-pheriks in different places, the Eyrey Cosnahan in Dalby, and many others, which I shall notice somewhat in detail.

Keeil-vael, on the elevated ground named Cross Welkin Hill, between Balladoole House and the sea-shore, comprises the foundations of a mud wall, enclosing a flat space about 90 yards in length by 53 yards in breadth, in a circular but irregular manner, following the outline of the flat summit. The green sod of this enclosure is broken in many places by projecting points of limestone rock, and also made uneven by the foundations of what must have been the small chapel of Vael or Michael,

and by seven or eight hollows, without any order relative to each other, but which appear to have been places of abode that may have been partly underneath the surface, like the dwellings of the early Britons. The largest ruin is about 15 feet long and 12 feet wide, and stands nearly east and west. This site has never, I believe, been examined for the remains of the dead, but ancient rings have been found in the immediate vicinity within the memory of man.

Eyrey Cosnahan, in the western corner of the sequestered district of Dalby, and on the rough and precipitous acclivity of Cronk-ny-Eyrey-Lhaa, 200 feet above the level of the contiguous sea, stands an aboriginal structure, which is known by the name of the "Grave of the Manx Kings,"* and was examined by Dr. Simpson and others in August, 1849. This fabric, like all the old chapels, is surrounded by the ruins of a mud wall. Its walls were about three feet in thickness; their exterior rough and buttressed with sods, but the stones on the inside were set so as to form even masonry. The interior measured only twelve feet in length and eight in width. Its narrow door, at the west end entered obliquely or tortuously, like the gate of the north redoubt outside the walls of Castle Rushen, and the descent to the vault underneath the altar and chancel of St. German's Cathedral. The floor was paved with smooth rounded pebbles about the size of eggs, and apparently from the neighbouring sea beach. Some of the stones in the interior, and one in the door, were marked with rough crosses of different forms. No appearances of stone graves or urns were found underneath to a considerable depth, and no signs of a sepulchral kind in the enclosure which surrounded it, were discovered. Ancient swords have been found near Glenmoi, in this neighbourhood; and Mr. Evan Gell, of Balelby, Dalby, informs me that on digging into a mound of earth on his farm, about eight or ten years ago, a complete human skeleton, with a halbert or battle-axe by its side, was found, and distinct traces of its haft visible, which he forbore

* The Manx believe that the Orrys first established themselves in Dalby.

to disturb. On the south aspect of the same range of the Cronk-ny-Eyrey-Lhaa, a mile west from Culby there was a similar ruin, called Keeil-pherik. It stood in the immediate vicinity of the circle of stones described at page 63, as remains of the heathen age. Outside of the entrance to this small chapel, on the south, two conical pillars about four feet high stood, as if pillars of a porch. They were six or eight inches in diameter, and worn quite smooth and round by attrition of some sort, as if from the handling of devotees or visitors.

I feel pleasure in giving the reader here an extract from the report of the Rev. A. Holmes, vicar of Kirk Patrick, respecting the Keeils in his parish, which was sent to the Council of the Manx Society, in answer to queries issued by them to the incumbents of the parishes. Had they all responded to those enquiries, I have no doubt that the reports would have been equally illustrative of these remains of antiquity of this Island, as well as corroborative of my own views of the subject.

"Of Treen Chapels or oratories the ruins of several are pointed out. At the foot of Cronk-yn-irrey-lha, a mountain about three miles distant from Dalby, in a valley called Lhag-ny-Keeilley, are the ruins of a chapel, the walls not more than two feet high; in the burial ground adjoining lie the ashes, it is said, of many of the nobles who fell in battle. The road leading to it is wild and romantic, but appears to have been carefully constructed. It is reported that a priest occasionally came over from Ireland, and celebrated there the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church at a period when that religion was proscribed. A few years ago a medical gentleman from Scotland stumbled on a venerable stone, figured over with devices, but in his anxiety to remove it, it fell over the precipice and was broken in pieces on the rocks beneath.

"At Ballachreggan, a farm near Glenmay, there are the ruins of a chapel called 'Keeill Woirrey.' At Belelby there stood lately the ruins of a chapel called Keeillagh-yn-Chiarn, but not a vestige of them are now to be seen. At Ballachink there was

a chapel called Chrosh-va-Lhane," the ruins now ploughed up. The late proprietor of Borrane reported that a basket-handled sword of great size, and a battle-axe, were discovered in a stone coffin rudely formed, but they were immediately restored to the grave where they had so long lain, and no traces of them can now be discovered. At Rheaby-mooar there are the remains of a chapel, walls two feet high; burial ground about quarter of an acre in extent. The ancient baptismal font—a rude granite block—lies there, about three yards distant from a well in the neighbourhood of the chapel. The proprietor of the estate, Richard Quirk, Esq., C.P., relates that about nine years ago nine stone coffins were discovered in the burial ground, and in one of them were found a few human bones, but they soon crumbled into dust on being exposed to the air. On the estate of Ballaquayle there is an ancient burial ground where a few graves are visible. At Gordon, the site of a chapel is also pointed out, and in the burial ground adjoining are to be seen a few graves. On the estate of Knockaloe-beg, on a hill overlooking the sea, stands a tower of modern date, in the interior of which are erected several mural tablets, setting forth the excellencies of those who were interred in the adjoining burial ground. At Ballamenagh there are the walls of a chapel two feet high; in the burial ground adjoining there was a perfect skeleton found in a stone coffin, about forty years ago. At Ballabig there was a chapel called Keeill-vout, the walls of which are now scarcely visible. At the Kerroodhoo, a farm a little to the south of Slieuwhallan, are the remains of a chapel under the invocation of St. Mary; the walls on the east end are four feet high. The burial ground is about an acre in extent, covered with stone coffins, the tops of which in several places are visible. In the Glebe Field, near the Parish Church there formerly stood a chapel, but now there is nothing visible that would lead you to believe that a chapel ever stood there. A building, said to be the old Parish Church of St. Patrick, is shown on the Isle on which Peel Castle stands, a few yards west of the Cathedral; the era of its erection unknown.

The present Parish Church was erected on a parcel of ground granted by Captain Silvester Radcliff for that purpose, June 13th, 1710, and consecrated by Bishop Wilson on St. Peter's Day, 1714. The lead with which the Cathedral was covered, was, by an Act of Tynwald, on the 20th of October, 1710, granted to Bishop Wilson, to assist in the erection of the church of Kirk Patrick.

"It is very probable that the principal landholders in this parish, prior to the grant of the present churchyard, had solemn places on their own property, set apart for the burial of their dead. This we may infer from the numerous grave-yards that are to be found in the parish."

The Keeil-pherrik-a-Drumma stands about one mile and a half south-west from the village of Kirk Michael, on the old road called "*Ugh tagh breesh my chree,*" leading along the summits of the high grounds that skirt the coast here. In this parish also is the Karn Vael or Cairn of Michael noticed by Feltham; and in all the northern parishes, likewise, old chapels occur,—one on the estate of Shellag, in Bride, near the stone and mound called the Cronk-y-Vollan; the Cabal Druag, in Andreas; and one on Skyhill, with remains of sepulture there; although few or none of the fortified mounds of earth have been observed.

I shall now notice five chapels, of the same series with the keeils but much larger, and built of solid masonry, instead of earth. First, St. Mary's, stands on the Island of St. Michael, near Derby-haven, and is pointed out as a Roman Catholic chapel, the burial-ground of which has been lately in use as a depository for the bodies of the shipwrecked mariners and some others. This is contiguous to Hango Broogh, on Langness, formerly described. The second is St. Trinian's, at Greeba, in Marown, which name appears to refer to the etymon of Trin or Treen. It is situated in an arable field, unaccompanied by enclosure, but the architecture, though sufficiently rude, presents an evident attempt at refinement. Its small windows

are terminated by Gothic arches, which are formed by two oblong stones springing from opposite sides of the window, like the arch formed by the two jawbones of the whale. A gable window of a Treen Chapel on the West Nappin has evident traces of ornamentation. The third is the ancient Treen Chapel of Ballure, near Ramsey, repaired in 1850, and now in use by the inhabitants. The Rev. Wm. Kermode says,—"This chapel appears to have been frequently re-built. There is a record of its having been re-built during the episcopate of Bishop Parr, in 1640: it was a hundred years later re-built, and consecrated afresh by Bishop Wilson, 1747; and in 1850 was thoroughly repaired and restored by subscription. It is beautifully situated at the foot of the hill, on which stands the tower, erected in 1847, to commemorate her Majesty's visit to Ramsey bay, and the Prince Consort's landing and ascending the height to view the surrounding country." The other two chapels stand within the walls of Peel Castle, and are named by some St. Patrick's and St. German's, which are also the names of the neighbouring parish churches. The latter is the only cathedral ruin in the Island. St. Patrick's Church, in Peel Castle, was doubtless the parish church in early times; for the present parish church of Patrick, on the main land, was built only in the time of Bishop Wilson. The era of the foundation of the Cathedral of St. German's is not known, but representations of it were given in some of the earliest authors of the church history of cathedrals. Many of the Bishops of Mann are supposed to have been buried in it, the last of whom was Rutter, in 1663. In one of the deeds of the Earl of Derby (1505) to Huan Hesketh, bishop, the cathedral is mentioned in these words:—"Ecclesiam Cathedralem sancti Germani, in Holm, *Sodor* vel Pele vocatur," &c. The rocky island on which the cathedral stands is almost entirely encircled by the battlemented walls of Peel Castle, and contains upwards of four acres. The cathedral is the principal object of this fortification, and stands on the inner or eastern wall, on the most inaccessible precipice

or broogh of the place—the position which a baronial residence would have occupied, if the fortification had had one as a Keep originally. Adjoining it, towards the north, are the ruins of buildings said to have been the Governor's house formerly—most probably the Bishop's in early ages. Such a warlike situation for a cathedral is by no means common, and is evidence of one of two things, either that it was necessary to protect it from enemies, regardless of the religion to which it was consecrated, or that this site was from the first, before it was surrounded with battlements, an ecclesiastical position of strength, over which the priests had territorial rights for their own special purposes. It is difficult also to attribute any necessity for the chapel of St. Patrick, that stands inside the walls of the Castle, near the cathedral, unless it was erected for the accommodation of the population of the parish of Patrick on the mainland at times when worshippers were not safe there. The battlemented walls, turrets, and parapets are modern, and are said by Bishop Wilson to have been built about the year 1500, by one of the Derby family. Opposite the Pier a small tower stands over the southern gateway, of "*Moddey Dhoo*" notoriety; and there is a sally-port on the east for ingress and egress by sea.

About the middle of the irregular polygonal area, enclosed by the battlemented walls, there is a square pyramidal mount or hillock, terminating obtusely on the summit, and flanked on every side by fossa and corresponding redoubts of earth accumulated on the rock, thus forming two covered ways of magnitude and solidity, leading eastward and southward towards the two gates of the modern battlements. This cronk is about twelve feet high, each of its sides measures about seventy yards, and they respectively face the four cardinal points of the compass. This is a beautiful specimen of the age of hillocks, excepting its quadrangular form, and doubtless was the primitive form of the fort, and probably coeval to the time when the Bishopric of Sodor and Man was first planted on this rock. It is quite in unison with the fortified and judicial hills already described. Near its

eastern base a large well of water springs up from the rock, to which there is a descent by steps covered in. There can be no doubt that it is identical in construction with the barrow, and constituted the primitive structure of the place previous to the erection of the stone battlements.

I take the liberty of making these observations on Peel Castle, already so often described in most accounts given of the country, because I think they explain and confirm my meaning when speaking of the vestiges of the heathen and Christian aborigines being still found near each other in the same localities.

During the construction of a new battery, in 1815, north from the ruins of the Cathedral, one of the mounds or redoubts enclosing the central mount, being penetrated, disclosed the remains of the dead, which is irreconcilable with the modern burying-ground existing in the contiguous Cathedral, and would lead to the conclusion, either that the latter has been built subsequently, or that it was the custom in early times to bury the dead of the garrison in this manner. But I am inclined to believe that primitively the central mount in this instance was used as much for civil or religious purposes as for those of war and watch and ward, and that it was to the former institutions, and not to its fortifications that the Holm or Sodor of Peel owed the celebrity it possessed in early ages.

Had Buchannan not fixed the site of the town of Sodor, which he says existed before his time, on an island near Castletown, the Island of the Cathedral of St. German would have readily passed for that on which it stood. Indeed it is my opinion that if ever such a town existed, or if the Norwegians, upon their conquest of the Isles, translated the *Sotorense fanum* from Iona, or from St. Mary's Isle near Castletown, as has been alleged, this is the situation which received it. But it does not appear that the Northmen had the inclination or the influence in such matters as to dispose of or change the site of a bishopric. Religion was upon a much firmer footing in those ages with regard to its temporalities, and its affairs were interfered with by none but the Pope and the Bishops themselves.

It is, indeed, most probable that some church called Soter or Sodor existed in this Island, and gave origin to the title of the bishopric. Bishop Wilson expressly informs us that this suggestion was realized by a deed from the Earl of Derby to Bishop Huan, in 1500; on the other hand it is stated that the etymon of Sodor is Sudor, or the south province of the Norwegian conquests of the eleventh century; but in some of the early Norwegian Sagas the Orkney Islands are denominated the Sudoreys, long before they had conquered the Isle of Man. As their dominion became extended southwards to Man, by the conquests of Magnus, so would the name Sudoreys extend, and become confused with Soterensis, from the reign of Godred Cronan till the Scottish annexation, a period of about 200 years, and from that till the deed granted to Bishop Huan another 250 years. In the present state of our information, the Holm of Peel presents itself as the most probable site of it, indeed it is so nominated in the deed of Bishop Huan. The assumption that the Norwegians established a Bishopric denominated Sodor, in contradistinction to that in Norway called Norder, is very ingenious, but is without any adequate authority, and is at variance with some accounts of the history of the Scottish islands in the middle ages, more especially when it refers to two countries in which Christianity was received at dates and centuries wide apart. According to George Buchannan, Sodor, or Soterense Fanum, was situated in a small island near Castletown, on the southern shores of the Island. It is, therefore, a matter of history that there was a place called Sodor in the Island itself; indeed we have still the name Port Soderick there. Others say it was the name of a village in Iona, and, according to Hector Boethius, Conranus, Bishop of Sodor, rendered the place (wherever it was) famous as a site for educational purposes and a mansion of the muses, for the education of the earliest Scottish princes.

The styles of the Bishops of the Isles was *Episcopus Insularum Soterensium*, until the English wrested Mann from the Scots,

when the Bishopric was divided into two—the *Episcopus Sodorensis et Manniæ* and the *Episcopus Insularum* severally. These styles have been separated nearly five hundred years; and seeing that, at the time of their separation, the Scottish prelates of that time did not retain the designation *Sotorensis*, it is a tacit admission that they considered it then to belong of right to the Manx see. We have seen from Marchmont Herald that they retained the armorial bearing of the Isles, and that at the time of the separation, the Manx bishops assumed only an *orle* in their escutcheon. As this Island originally formed a separate portion of the Bishopric of the Isles, Sodor must have been the designation by which it was recognised in the title *Episcopus Sotorensis et Insularum*. This name would be taken from the site of the Manx Cathedral, where Christianity first took root, with more propriety than from the Island itself, and which remained full of heathenism; and the retention of the word *Insularum* in the Manx title would have been considered a pre-eminent and invidious distinction. Hence it may be fairly concluded that the most probable origin of the word *Sodor*, which has been so much disputed, is referable to the Isle of Man itself, and that the reason why, as a lesser, it precedes *Mannia*, the greater, is because it was in use from the first ages, and formed part of the styles of the ancient Bishops in those seas, before the entire Island was subjugated to Christianity.

From the foregoing description, it is, I think, evident that the primitive civilization of the Isle of Man was constructed on a veneration for religion, whether it was the Druidism of the Celts of Mannanan-mac-ee-Lheir, or the Christianity of the persecuted and primitive Christians of Britain; that a veneration of the religious element has preserved those monuments which inherited a sacred character, whether they belonged to the Druids or to the primitive Christians, from destruction, and that out of both originals have sprung the grander and better ordered system of territorial divisions into parishes, with resident teachers and incumbents.

In modern fortification, the earthern redoubts of Peel Castle can possess little or no utility. Grose supposes the Cronk to have been a place from which the commander of the garrison issued orders or harangued his troops. But, in this case, what were the uses of the ditch and circumvallations of earth? They could only be meant for defence—to cover the beseiged from attacks of missiles from the neighbouring hill, which are quite within gun-shot range, or to act as a citadel in case of a sudden rush of assailants, anterior to the modern battlements. But as they would constitute but a very feeble defence in such cases, it is still more likely that they are the remains of the ancient position, as has just been suggested, before the introduction of fire-arms.

All the early references made to this place during the Norwegian tenure of the Island, call it the Holm, or Peel of Mann, but little or nothing is said conclusive of its being possessed of the warlike battlemented walls erected since the accession of the House of Derby. Hence I am inclined to believe that, in the early periods of its history, the central mound constituted the only artificial strength of the Castle, and was not removed when the fortification became modernized, not only because the room it occupies was not required by the garrison, but because it is really an ornament to the place. It is most probable that meetings of Tynwald have been held here, as well as at Castle Rushen, and that from its summit blazed the watch and ward signals when occasion required.

Another ante-historic ruin in this castle is the round tower, or Peeley, which stands near the western battlements, quite solitary. It is in all probability akin to the Irish round towers that have attracted the notice of antiquaries. In an old drawing of the castle, in the possession of the Earl of Derby, it is represented as roofed in and having the *trie cassyn* floating from its flag-staff, and marks of a stair and flooring are evident in the interior. This tower is a rubble work of stones, and stands about forty feet high, and no tradition is attached to it that I am aware of. I

have little doubt that it was a small place of safety and of watch and ward, during the age of hillocks.

Of the history of Peel Castle little is known with certainty, but as both it and its Cathedral are very interesting places and much resorted to by the public, I shall throw out a few remarks on the subject. It was the only place of strength on the western shores of the Island, unless Bishop's Court was fortified in ancient times: I have not discovered even a fortified hill or broogh, which are so frequent on the eastern coast (however abundant the keeils may be) on the western coast. Thus Peel was in ancient times the capital of the north, as Castletown was that of the south of the Island, when it was divided into two jurisdictions. It is situate in the first sheading of the Island, Glenfaba, and is, therefore, the oldest territorial division. The kings of Scotland, in the days of Eugenius, are said by Hector Boethius to have been educated in it; and during the sovereignty of the Earls of Derby it was garrisoned and contained a residence for the Bishop, and was also used as a place of confinement for several state prisoners of England, since the accession of the House of Derby to the sovereignty of Man. But it appears to have owed a good deal of its early celebrity to its Cathedral being the only one in the Island. The small rock on which it stands at the estuary of the Neb River, at the western limit of Peel bay, is called by the Manx Peel, or the Pele Henge, or Holom, *i.e.*, the River Island, hence Peeltown, Hollone Town, and Port Henge, or Port-ny-Henchley; the Norwegians call it the Holm of Peel, and Hallom or Hallow Town, and in one of the deeds of the Earl of Derby, in 1505, to Huan Hesketh, Bishop of the Island, it is called Sodor in these words:—Ecclesiam Cathedralem Sancti Germani in Holm, Sodor, vel Pele vocatur, which proves that upwards of 350 years ago the title "Sodor" continued to be given to a place in the Island itself.* In Bishop Wilson's work it is stated that the cathedral was built by Simon, Bishop of

* The Manx word *Peeley* signifies a pile or tower, a fortress; *Hengey* means a tongue, a spit or rhin of land.

Sodor, in 1254, who was buried within its walls much about the time that Alexander the III., King of Scotland, regained the sovereignty from the Norwegians. It is constructed in the form of a cross, 110 feet long by 70 broad, and stands on the highest summit or edge of the "broogh," on the eastern side, over the mouth of the harbour, and had a battlemented parapet on the top of its wall all round. It is built of a blue schistose stone, of which the neighbouring cliffs consist, and the coignes, windows, and architraves are faced with a picturesque-looking red sandstone found on the opposite side of Peel bay, now very much weather-worn; the chancel was the last part of the edifice in preservation, and would have still been in a tolerable state had the roof been kept in repair; in Grose's time it was seated and shut up, and here the bishops underwent the ceremony of installation, but this ceremony had only been once performed in it since the Act of revestment of the Island in the British Crown. Underneath the chancel is the vault lighted by a window on the summit of the cliff, in which state and ecclesiastical prisoners were confined; a dreary subterraneous abode, to which eighteen steps lead from the outside through the wall, through a very narrow, crooked, dark, and steep descent. The roof of this dungeon is vaulted by thirteen ribs forming pointed arches of stone, which spring from as many semi-hexagonal pilasters, only twenty-one inches high. These arches are now beginning to fall, and the whole is choked up with rubbish.—Vide Appendix.

Such is only an imperfect account of the mounds of earth and stones of the Druidical age of hillocks, and of the Keeils and Treen Chapels and other remains of early Christianity in this Island. I could readily enumerate many more of the latter, and I hope to be able to give in the Appendix a more complete list of them, from the most authentic sources. Agricultural improvements have of late years obliterated many of them, and doubtless they will soon disappear altogether. All those mentioned are of an ante-historic date. There are a few other ecclesiastical ruins of antiquity, however, which ought to be included in this chapter,

but which have often been already described by the historians of the Island, to whom I beg to refer. I mean the Nunnery of St. Bridget in Douglas, the monastery St. Mary de jugo Domini of Rushen at Ballasalla, and that of Bimaken, a more obscure congregation of monks, as completely unknown now as the Cronks or Keeils themselves; nor ought the obsolete ecclesiastical Barons of the Island to be omitted here, although a detailed account of them will come more appropriately under the head of Regalities in the next chapter. In 1794, when Mr. Robertson published his *Tour through the Isle of Man*, speaking of the Nunnery at Douglas, he states that "there stood close to the modern building a venerable relique of the ancient priory, which, according to tradition, was founded by St. Bridget, in the sixth century, when she came to receive the veil from St. Maughold, and some traces of the retreat of the *Ben-austeyr* may still be found." Of the *Ben-austeyree* of the Nunnery and the aristocracy of the convents, though not ante-historic like the democracy of the keeils, nothing remains but the sites of their dilapidated retreats and the extinct memories of their mouldered dead, a description of which would render this chapter too voluminous. With reference to the date of the foundation of these remains, I may state that the abbey of St. Mary of Rushen was first laid by a chief named MacManis, in 1098, (Robertson, p. 47,) and that Castle Rushen was built by Guttred, of the Danish or Orry line, in 960, (or, according to a date found in the walls, 947,) of which more hereafter. I should like, however, to state some archæological features of Castle Rushen, as well as the remains of four or five old camps and redoubts, which have not hitherto been observed sufficiently, and to conclude this chapter with some evidence to prove that the soldiers of the ancient Roman Empire may have left traces here of their civilization as in other parts of Britain.

FORTRESSES AND REDOUBTS.

Had not Castle Rushen been familiar to every observer, and so often described, I should have given a history of it somewhat in

detail; but as my object here is not to dwell on history, but to enlarge archæological novelty, I shall now only notice a few features of it which have not been adequately observed. This noble structure forms one of the best examples of the keep and fortalice of the middle ages, almost in its *original state* and in habitable repair, to be found in Great Britain in modern times. The keep, which was the ancient residence of the sovereigns of the Isles in the tenth century, comprises four magnificent towers built three stories high on the four sides of a quadrangle, and of different elevations; the highest being about 80 feet, over the portcullis gate, on the north of the quadrangle, which gate is the only entrance to the inner square of the keep, into which all the doors, and windows, and inner staircases open from the various stories of the building. The outer windows are narrow casements and comparatively few in number. The walls consist of large blocks of limestone from the neighbouring sea shore, and are twelve feet thick at the base and nearly nine at the summit, which terminates in embrasures that cover the leaden roof. The architraves of several of the inner windows consist of carved freestone, and all the ceilings and passages of various cells are formed by massive pillars of the long stones which are found at Spanish Head, laid close together. Thus the keep comprises a square quadrangle, on the four sides of which rise four towers, in the form of a cross, and contains altogether about thirty-five apartments, including a chapel and banqueting-room on the third story of the northern tower. The first stories of three towers are solid, filled with earth and bones, as if they had been vaults of the dead, or by small cells, without any light, and which are entered by descending through the floor of the second stories. The battlemented wall which surrounds this keep all round, at a distance of about fifteen yards, is upwards of fourteen feet in height and nine feet in thickness, with embrasured parapets and a covered way, (which is secured inside by a low wall,) and have three square turrets of one story on them, and on the north one large square outer keep of four rooms over the outer gateway two

stories high. The space where the ditch was, is immediately outside the battlements; beyond the ditch is a modern glacis of irregular polyagonal outline, said to have been built by Cardinal Wolsey. Outside the glacis were three circular redoubts, on the land side, about a bow shot distance from each other. The sluice which admitted water into the ditch from the harbour is still visible, built of rubblemasonry in the same manner as the glacis. The walls of the north redoubt, which is least ruinous, are nine feet and a half thick, and enclose an area fifteen feet in diameter. It is two stories high, and appears to have been covered in. The notches for the support of the floor of the upper story are very evident. The lowest wall is fifteen feet high, and has a sally-port door towards the harbour, and an entrance that opens into the ditch. The upper story had two doors, one of which leads obliquely through the wall towards the ditch, the other, which is built up, passed in a very narrow zig-zag manner to the external defences. There is also the relics of a fire-place. The redoubt called "The Old Fort," on the Pollock Rocks, at Douglas, and used as a jail, was of similar construction.

In 1644 there was built on the rampart wall and keep on the eastern side, a house for the accommodation of the Lieutenant-Governor. This building appears to have been an addition to the tower of four rooms over the outer gate on the north, and opposite to the inner portcullis of the keep, and is now occupied as offices by the Clerk of the Rolls and by other Courts of Government. There are vaults beneath this tower underground and contiguous to the harbour, which in early times may have given rise to those fabulous accounts of passages underground between Castle Rushen and the Monastery at Ballasalla, two miles distant up the river, which from the nature of the level and the drainage of the land between them were impossible.

The grand keep had fallen into ruins after the revestment in 1765, and was without a roof till 1815, when Capt. Holloway was sent down by the Government, soon after the conclusion of the long war, to repair it thoroughly as a common prison, as well as to form batteries of two guns at Peel Castle and Douglas

Head. Upon breaking through the base of the east wall of the quadrangle, immediately north of the high square tower on that side, in order to make a sewerage for the building, Capt. Holloway, in 1816, laid open a gateway which had been built up, and which had been most probably the gate of the quadrangle, opening on the harbour, before the four towers had been raised and the portcullis formed on the north side. On the masonry being cleared away, the old gate was found to be a beautiful low pilastered arch of the early Saxon period; and in a morticed recess on one side of the arch, a beam of oak fourteen feet long by sixteen inches square, was found, with a date cut upon it of 947 in Arabic characters, and which, doubtless, was the barrier used to secure the gate, according to the fashion of the period. During the operation, the architect found that the keep comprised two distinct kinds of masonry,—the materials of the one exceedingly hard and difficult to cut through; the other, though more regular and beautiful, easily penetrated,—the quadrangular enclosure being the former, and the high towers the latter. Any one who will examine the masonry externally will see two sorts of architecture displayed. The first story is a hard rubble wall of limestone, to the height of the solid portions of the towers, whilst the upper portions of the building consist of large square blocks of the same stone.* It would therefore appear that Castle Rushen has been built at two different times, that the original had been a large quadrangular enclosure, entered seaward by a low Saxon pointed arch, and flanked on the four sides by solid towers; whereas the gate of the lofty keep of four stories on the north front is a high portcullis of the Norman period, which in fact coincides with the two kinds of architecture found, and with the traditions that Castle Rushen was built by Guttred, of the Orry race, and also by Godred Cronan, or one of

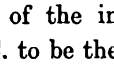
* Within the memory of individuals, traces of a gangway were shown near Scarlet point, which was said to have extended all the way to the summit of the Castle Rushen (about a mile) at the time it was erected, whereby the large blocks of stone and other materials were carried up, instead of raising them by crank and windlass.

his immediate successors on their settling in the southern parts of the Island after the conquest.

The oaken barrier was in excellent preservation, dry and crusted over white with lime. I have often seen the inscription, and a representation of it was published in Part 2, Vol. II., of the *Transactions of Scottish Antiquaries*, and the inscription part is now in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Atholl; the rest having been cut up and constructed into a variety of boxes and writing desks, by the lovers of antiquity, one of which is now in my possession. The engineer informed me that rollers of metal were found under it, upon which it must have been drawn out and in. The cavity in the wall also, from which the portcullis was let down, had not been filled up like the gateway, and is now converted into a flue for carrying away the foul air from the sewer and the lower apartments. Notwithstanding these facts, the great antiquity of this oaken beam with inscription, naturally leads many to be sceptical in believing it genuine. The conjectures offered in reference to the causes that led to its being deposited in the place it was found in are two, viz., first, that it had formed the barrier of an ancient gateway, and had, for some reason, not been taken away when the opening was built up, at the time when the entrance was changed; second, that it was laid there at the first building of the walls, for the same reason as coins are deposited in the foundation stones of public buildings in modern times. Others deny its alleged antiquity altogether, on the grounds that the inscription is merely the number of a log of timber, and that its Arabic numerals were not known or in use at so early a period. It is therefore, perhaps, necessary to make an attempt to remove ill-grounded objections. If it is kept in view that a portcullis and the metallic rollers were discovered in the same arch with the barrier, little doubt can remain of its having been a part of the machinery of the gate of that arch, and other facts corroborate this. The present main gate of the keep is on the north front, and at first sight appears to have been the original entrance; but an attentive examination

of the masonry will show that it was built at two different periods at least, as has been already remarked. The first or ground story, for twenty feet and some inches, is thicker than the superincumbent towers, and is a rubble work of uncommonly hard materials, whereas the towers are built of large square blocks of limestone for three stories, and only of ordinary hardness. In this manner two kinds of walls, and in all probability two dates, are evident. The towers on the east, south, and west sides are solid twenty feet; and it was found, on breaking into the southern tower, that the filling up consisted of earth, embedding human bones, most probably from having been used as a burying tumulus. The north tower, through which the portcullis passes, is not solid on the ground floor, and projects less from the quadrangle than the other three, which are also upwards of one story lower in elevation. The ramparts, but not the glacis, are of the same age as the upper stories of the keep, whereas none of the outworks correspond in architecture to the ground story. Most of these facts were particularly observed and examined by the architect who conducted the reparation of the Castle in 1815–16, and formed quite sufficient grounds for the inference that it was originally of a much simpler form than at present. That its original walls were not more than twenty feet high, and its Saxon gateway was on the eastern front, and opened directly on the harbour, and the oaken barrier with its subscription was part of that gate and was left in its recess when the fortification assumed its present more modern form. In fine, these solid square towers are only an improvement on the fortified hills described above, and not unlike the *early* strongholds of the Britons and the Saxons, the first stories of many of which, it is well known, were solid.

The keep and inner battlemented walls, but not the glacis, had attained their present form before the House of Derby became sovereigns of the Island, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, most probably before the Scottish annexation in 1265, soon after which it underwent a seige, conducted by King Robert Bruce in

person. With this amount of antiquity, therefore, and allowing that it must have been built at two different times, the primitive existence of the building is carried back sufficiently far to warrant a belief of the date 947 being genuine. With reference to the Arabic characters not having been known in such a remote place as this, it is only necessary to recur to the fact that they were known in Spain two centuries before 947, and that the Isle of Man had, in the darkest ages, intercourse with the East and the Mediterranean Sea. If it is allowed me to give some explanation of that part of the inscription which reads  would take the E. C. to be the initials of the words *Edificatum Castrum*, and look upon the intervening character as some masonic or emblematic design in use by those bands of architects who migrated from one country to another in the middle ages, constructing feudal castles like that of Rushen. The date 947 is distinct beyond dispute, and from what has been said, ought, I think, to be considered authentic. It is the only *date* of great antiquity extant in the Island, and, if taken in conjunction with the circumstances attending its discovery, must be of considerable importance in throwing light upon the original era of other ancient buildings and earthworks in the Island, an account of some of which follow.

In the immediate vicinity of the Parish Church of Braddan, large ruins of earthworks for defensive operations are very distinct. In March, 1860, I ascertained by attentive observation that the mounds of earth seen in the old wood on the right of the road leading from the highroad to Peel, past the western end of the churchyard, to Kirby House, are not merely old sod fences undeserving of attention, but the remains of a camp, fortified in the dark ages. An account to this effect was published in a weekly periodical, the *Manx Sun*, of 20th March, 1860. The principal remains of this camp is an irregular line of wall, about 70 yards in length, opposite the churchyard, which turns at both ends southward at sharp angles, so as to surround Kirk Braddan and its burial yard; the western or outside front of this wall is faced

with tall stones from four to six feet high, set on end close together, so as to form a parapet throughout the whole 70 yards which protects a covered way behind it, fourteen feet wide and two or three feet high above the area enclosed on the east. Outside of this redoubt, on the west, there are the remains of a wide ditch, in which there is a run of water; and at the western end, the wall is continued southward till it is biscected by the highroad, south of which it has been almost obliterated by the levelling and fencing of the burial yard and of Kirby Grounds, but traces of it can be followed on the east of tho church. If we consider the time those works were thrown up and the waste of ages that must have taken place since, these ruins are remarkably distinct, and it must have been an enclosure calculated to afford a very formidable protection. On the declivity westward of the camp, traces of numerous ruined foundations and immense stones present themselves throughout the wood, and in the field beyond there is a spring of water called the Chibber Niglus, about 100 yards from the wood, which gives name to the field; also the remains of a carnaen close to the boundary, comprising some erect stones, and an immense one recumbent, measuring 7 feet 6 inches long by about 4 feet broad, and having on its upper flat surface a peculiar looking excavation or trough, upwards of 2 feet long and 18 inches wide. Can this have been what is usually called a sacrificial stone?—(See *Plate* vii, *fig.* 1.) The whole of these remains extend over a space of about ten acres of ground or more. Can this have been an ancient British town, with its fortified broogh, on the river Dhoo, or is it Scandinavian? The Norwegian Sagas inform us that Magnus Barefoot (Nudipes) constructed three strongholds in Man, but he was killed during an invasion of Ireland which he conducted, before he had time to finish them, (1098.) Can this be one of the strongholds of Magnus? My friend Dr. Oliver is of opinion that it is the remains of an ancient British town or station, and very similar in many respects to Abury.

The castles of Rushen and Peel are the two feudal fortresses of

the Island, in the middle ages; Bishop's Court, about forty years ago, wore more the aspect of a place of military strength than it does now, the ditches and mounds of earth about it having been levelled, and a portion of its massive walls—of great hardness and strength—having been removed by Bishop Murray, when he repaired and modernized the building in some degree. These immensely thick walls must have belonged to a tower of the ancient palace, which Robertson in his *Tour* informs us was demolished by Bishop Criggan, about 1780. I can find no record of the building of the primitive palace, but may remark that Jocelinus says that the bishopric was founded in 447, and that the masonry of the walls pulled down much resembles that of the primitive portion of Castle Rushen. The number of barrows found round Bishop's Court are so many proofs of the ancient importance of this locality, and has a tendency to confirm the remarks on this subject that I have ventured to suggest.

There is a large barrow in the grounds of Bishop's Court, near the foot of the glen, which is only notable as having been the elevation from which the Bishop watched the naval engagement off Jurby, between Elliott and Thurot, in 1760, but it appears to me to connect this site with the age of hillocks.

The earthwork at Ballachurry, in the parish of Andreas, deserves a place in an enumeration of the defences of the Island. This noble camp is almost quite entire, owing to its solidity. It is a rectangle enclosing a space of 50 yards in length, by 40 yards in breadth. The walls of earth are six yards thick, with four noble bastions at the four corners, all of which are surrounded by a wet fosse of equally ample dimensions.* Although its appear-

* Colonel Townley thinks it not older than Charles I. This conjecture he grounds on having seen several similar to this formed during the civil war; he therefore thinks it was formed when the troops of the Lord Protector Cromwell were in the Island;—if so, why is it so complely forgotten? In the reign of the Emperor Vespasian, the Roman General, Ostorius Scapula invaded Galloway, and the Queen of Carrick, Vcadicia, raised a powerful army of the inhabitants of the Isle of Man and Gallovidians, who had taken refuge there. This camp is situated in the parish of Andreas, nearly opposite to Galloway, where a Roman camp was discovered by Train, in 1820.

ance is so regular and modern, it is of an unknown antiquity, nor have I been able learn of any tradition respecting it. It appears to me to have been a stronghold for the north division of the Island, such as Castle Rushen was for the south, at the time when the attitude of these two divisions was hostile to each other, of which fact there are several instances recorded in the Norwegian history of the Island.

Of the rounds camps that are usually considered Danish or ancient British, there are two specimens in the Island of considerable dimensions. One situated close to the town of Ramsey, on the high brooghs that border the Bay, at the estuary of Ballure Glen; the other near St. Mark's Chapel, at the southern base of Slieu-ny-Clogh, in the valley where Silverburn takes its rise. The field in which the latter camp stands is called the Claare-our; it was levelled about the year 1820, but its site may still be traced. Around it lay many granite boulders, one of which was flat and of vast size, impressed with marks or hollows which tradition said were the marks of the hand of a giant, who cast it to this place from the top of South Barrool, where there is the large enclosure formerly described. The camp near Ramsey was entire 40 years ago, but it has been disappearing for many years from the brooghs on which it stands being carried away gradually by the sea. These two were as similar to each other as if they had been constructed in the same age and after the same fashion; the circular redoubts of both being high and strong, and enclosed by a ditch. No probable tradition is entertained respecting either of them, but doubtless that at Ramsey was a station during those fierce battles that were fought in the immediate neighbourhood, in the early part of the Norwegian era, between the Manx and their invaders.

From several ancient authors we know that the Romans were not ignorant of the Isle of Man, but many question whether they ever formed a station here. The remains of them are certainly not numerous, but I think they are worthy of notice, as evidence of their having formed settlements of some duration.

Bishop Wilson is the first author who described the altar "*Jovi Aug.*" at Castle Rushen, which is undoubtedly Roman; but as he did not believe that that interesting people ever made Castletown a station, he suggests that this altar was in all probability brought from Cumberland, for what reason he does not inform us, but probably it was because similar to others found there and published in Camden. In Vol. ii., Part 2, of the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries*, an exact drawing of this altar, and the inscription on it, taken under my own superintendance, was published with an account of it. From the inscription it appears that the altar had been erected to Jupiter by Marcus Censorius, son of Marcus Flavius Voltinius, of the Augustensian legion, prefect of the Tungrian cohort of the province of Narbonne. Since Bishop Wilson's time many writers have noticed this stone, to which I beg leave to refer.* When the above account was published a deposit of three copper coins in the Market Parade, at Castletown, had not been dug up by the workmen employed by Mr. Brine, the architect for the re-building of the present Government Chapel of St. Mary's, in 1826. These coins were found deposited a few yards from the north side of the chapel, in a square hollow scooped out of a small block of free-stone, exactly of the same kind as that of which the altar is formed. The cavity was covered by a flat stone, and there can be little doubt that it had formed the foundation stone of that Roman altar which had lain so long in the House of Keys and in the fosse of Castle Rushen, and described by Bishop Wilson, although its having stood in the Market-place had never been recorded.†

* From my own observation there can be little doubt that the inscription on this stone has undergone mutilation, which mystifies the reading of it.

† When the heathen temple of Rushen was overthrown, a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary was erected on its site.—Hollinshead's *Chronicles of Scotland*, Vol. i. p. 130.—The foundation stone of the Roman temple remained undisturbed, nor was it till the foundation of the second Christian Church, erected on the site of St. Mary's in 1698, was cleared away in 1826, for the erection of a third on the same spot, that it was discovered with its deposit of Roman coins, evidently placed there by Roman hands.—*Train*, p. 55.

Speaking of the parish of Santon, Feltham, at p. 259, says,—"An old stone with some characters similar to Roman capitals thereon was dug up in the churchyard at a very great depth, and is preserved by the Vicar." A representation of this stone is given in my communication to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries. For several years back this stone has disappeared from the neighbourhood of the vicarage.*

The old fort at Douglas, situated at the Pollock rocks, was considered by Colonel Townley to be Roman. He came to this conclusion from a comparison of its architecture and plan, with those of other ruins which were acknowledged to be Roman. It was pulled down in 1816, about the time when Major Holloway repaired Castle Rushen and constructed batteries on Douglas Head and at Peel Castle.

ANCIENT ROADS.

Few things are more characteristic of the civilization of a country than the roads which have been constructed for the convenience of the inhabitants, and for military and commercial intercourse. Many of the old roads of the Island are still in use as footpaths, for the Manx have an objection to give up any road established of old. Few or none of the modern highways were made till the middle of the last century, therefore all the lines of old read are well remembered. The principal of them skirt the sea coast in nearly a straight direct course, like the Roman roads in England, over hill and valley, irrespective of steepness or of the defiles of the country; on the contrary, preferring to traverse the elevated ridges, and to open up the interior of the country conveniently from the leading lines of road. Excepting where they cross the mountain commons, these roads are all carefully enclosed on both sides by high earthern dykes. For the most part they do not exceed 12 or 18 feet in width, but open out occasionally to much wider

* Some families in the Island entertain a tradition that they are descended from our heathen lawgiver Mannanan Mac-ee-Lheir and the Romans.

spaces, as if it were into areas where a halt in travelling might be made. Hence they appear to modern ideas impracticable to wheeled carriages of any sort, and only fit for horses and pack-saddles. Besides their almost impracticable steepness (such as at Laxey Hill), they are scooped out into hollows, in many parts like ditches, which are obstructed by boulder stones of all sorts laying loose in water-worn currents. Many of them are known by special names and designations. Thus the old road from the North to the South district, by Bishop's Court, through the parishes of Michael and German along the ridges of hills near the sea-shore, eastwards of Peel, is denominated "*Ugh tagh breesh my chree*," "O the steep that breaks my heart." From St. John's this road passes over South Barrool, by ascending directly the south flank of Slieu-whallin, instead of following the course of the valleys and streams. It is remarkable that the majority of old keeils and fortified brooghs are near these old roads. That from Ramsey to Castletown runs twenty-five miles in as direct a course as the crow would fly. They usually crossed rivers and ravines by steep and difficult fordings.

I know of six bridges only in the Island possessed of any antiquity: that over the Castletown River, about 200 yards above the Abbey, is said to be of great age; it is a very narrow one, four feet wide, with parapet and two circular arches. It is delineated by Mr. Robertson in his *Tour*. That over the River Neb, in Glenfaba; that over the Sulby river, near Ramsey; that at Ballure; and that at Laxey; all were old and narrow bridges, but have been widened within the last fifty years. The old bridge at Douglas was also narrow, and was pulled down when the present one was constructed.

If to these facts we take into consideration the accounts of Mona given by Cæsar and Tacitus, the histories of the invasion of Anglesey by Suetonius, and of the campaign of Ostorius Scapula in Galloway, little doubt will remain on the mind of the Romans having been in Man for a considerable period, and that

they, as well as the Phœnicians and Druids, had an influence upon the civilization, the form of government, and the customary usages of its primitive inhabitants, which have come down to us; —a study of which I intend to make the subject of the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

REGALITIES AND CONSTITUTION OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

CHAPTER III.

THE ancient regal constitution of the Isle of Man is dissimilar in many respects to most modern forms of government of the same kind. In the two foregoing chapters I have to some extent brought forward new historical evidence, which, with similar accounts of the remains of antiquity previously made by other writers, must assist materially in the study of the Manx constitution; for material facts remain the same whatever the suggestions and opinions they give rise to may be. By tracing out the subject through the medium of these remains of the ante-historic periods, and the obsolete customary usages and traditions of the Island, we may probably arrive at some primitive data. I write under the presupposition that whoever takes the trouble to read my remarks is pretty well acquainted with the written history of the Island, for I shall endeavour, as much I can, to avoid making repetitions of historical details well known and recorded. To denizens of extensive nationalities our small state may appear of little or no importance in a historical point of view, but the unity and immemorial duration of its national existence will doubtless impart to many minds an opinion of its *status*

among nations, wounderful as well as curious,—a small people whom the Almighty Power has enabled to endure for many ages under every phasis of aggression and protection from stronger nations. The human means by which this has been accomplished is a problem worthy of an attempt at its solution; and the more we study it the more we perceive the utility of succeeding. Indeed, the Manx constitution has engaged the pens of many writers, but it has appeared to me that neither Mr. Rolt, Feltham, Robertson, or Train have given the Regalities and Royal Prerogatives of the Sovereign that prominent importance which they actually possess in the Manx constitution; nor have they dwelt sufficiently upon the laws of customary usages and the privileges enjoyed by the subject, which are the peculiar features of Manx civilization even in modern times. Moreover, we have in our days arrived at a period of our history, as has already been remarked in a former chapter, which is a period of change and of necessary progress, which will sweep every unrecorded fact into oblivion, unless rescued by the historian and antiquary. I allude to the Legislation which has been superseding traditional usages and breast laws actively for the last half century, and to the revestment of the Island in the crown of Great Britain in 1765 and in 1826.

It is generally admitted that Britain and its Isles were inhabited by Britons at first, and that in process of time changes were introduced by colonists and traders, and conquerors. Sammes, in his *Britannia*, says that the Phœnicians traded to Britain before the Trojan war, and that the Greeks came here 150 years before Julius Cæsar. The inhabitants being few in number, and few or none of them educated, were contented to be governed by convenient laws and customs, few in number, with a few of their best men as a head, just as intelligent tribes of savages and new colonists are at the present time. This was the patriarchal form of government until foreign colonization or hostile invasion disturbed the occupiers of the country and rendered it necessary for them to combine under some active

form of government for mutual protection. Doubtless some of the earthworks and other remains pointed out in the foregoing chapters existed before that necessity arose. Out of this small beginning, modified by the feudalism of the dark ages, the regal government of Man has grown and has been perpetuated. It is doubtless of importance to arrive at the element of its growth and its duration, inasmuch as a government capable of giving satisfaction to a people, and long confirmed by experience, is preferable to transitory theory, however grand and attractive it may be in appearance.

To enable us to trace the elements of durability apparently inherent in the regal constitution of Man, a knowledge of its recorded history becomes necessary as well as the evidence afforded by all kinds of Manx pre-historic remains pointed out in the foregoing chapters, or by the various authors who have previously treated of the most remarkable of them, but which, in order to avoid prolixity, I have not attempted to rehearse. To recapitulate recorded history at length would be equally objectionable, for the same reason. I can only therefore, refer to it in a very general way. In discussing the subject two interests become prominently personified, that of the governor and that of the governed, the king and his people, whose interests cannot be separated; the difference between them being more apparent in theory than in practice.

From all histories, traditions, and customary usages, it is manifest that the Manx constitution has from the first been constructed on the germs of absolute sovereignty, in some degree varied by the nature of the influence that exercised it for the time being, as well as by conquest and war; so that the constitution of the Isle of Man may be considered one of the oldest monarchies in the world which has descended to modern times without much change, its royal prerogatives being of a very despotic character, but its legal customary usages conferring on the subjects great rights and privileges; the former the product of patriarchal and feudal power, the

latter the offspring of the primary institutions of domestic and national liberty, when tenures of land were allodial in these countries. Lord Coke (1600), who studied the Manx laws more than any other English lawyer, considered the Isle of Man an absolute kingdom, and calls it "*the ancient and absolute kingdom of Man; its laws are very peculiar, such as are not to be found anywhere else.*"

REGALITIES.

Lord Coke also says that the "*Jura Regalia* of Man are *ab origine ex Jure ipsius insulæ*, and hath neither been interrupted nor discontinued from time immemorial; although Man has been invaded, over-run, and subdued in every age of its history, the *jus ipsius insulæ* has never been overthrown." Notwithstanding these interesting opinions, the existence of kings of Man in the first ages of our era has been not unfrequently called in question. The evidence of such authorities as Orosius, Beda, Boethius, Giraldus, Hollingshead, Lloyd, and George Buchanan is held by some to be undeserving of belief. The records of the Island itself, however, establish the fact that kings of Man existed in the tenth century, before the conquest; and the general tenor of the constitution implies that men possessed of sovereign authority existed *ab initio*, having the form either of patriarchal or regal authority; whether that was a patriarchal, hierarchal, or monarchical government cannot, I think, virtually affect the question.

In Selden's *Titles of Honor*, p. 24, 1393, we find these expressions, "est nempe jus ipsius insulæ ut quisquis illius sit Dominum Rex vocetur cui etiam fas est corona aurea coronari;* therefore the objection to the existence of kings here can only apply to the first ages.

In the charters and statutes that succeed to the conquest (it is of these mainly we speak) the titles and style of the designation of the sovereigns in possession of the regalities are somewhat various,

* The ceremony of coronation was performed with great pomp in 1344, after the Island had been recovered from the Scots by Sir Wm. Montacute.

but all of them imply regal authority confirmed by a long line of predecessors. The styles are "the King of Man," or "the King of Man and the Isles," "the Sovereign Liege Lord of the Island," "the King of the Isle;" the Right Honourable James, Earl of Derby, "the Lord of Man and the Isles;" and, in 1422, "our doughtful and gracious Lord, by the grace of God, King of Man, &c.," "Sovereign head of the Church within this Isle." About the same time, the Deemsters, the representatives of the Druids and the depositaries of breast law and of legal tradition, describing to Sir John Stanley the ancient ceremony of promulgation of the laws on the Tynwald Hill, say, "you shall come thither in your royal array, as a king ought to do, by the prerogatives and regalities of Mann." The styles of the dates in the ancient Court Rolls run thus, "Anno quarto regalititis nostræ." In all processions of the Legislature in Tynwald assembled, the sword of state was borne in a royal manner immediately before the sovereign of the Isle; and in fencing the Tynwald Court, the Coroner of Glenfaba calls on the people that they shall answer when called, in the license of the "king," according to uninterrupted tradition.

Thus, as far back as the chronicles of Man go with certainty, and as far as the hereditary evidence of tradition can establish anything, it is certain that kings have existed from times immemorial. The title of king was waved by the second Lord of the House of Stanley, 1450, and his example has been followed by all his successors, but without surrendering the right of holding the prerogatives and regalities of the crown "in as full and ample a manner as ever they had been held by any of the kings of former times." These rights were arbitrary and as full and comprehensive as those appertaining to the despotic sovereigns of powerful dominions. To this day the people implicitly recognize the regalities and prerogatives of their sovereign lord, however much they may stand up for their own ancient usages. The king is supreme head of legislation, justice, and religion, fines and forfeitures, and in fact of every thing. He had of old the nomination

and appointment of the entire establishment of public officials for legislation and government of the state, defence of the country, and of peremptory dismissal if so minded. He was the recognised source of all law, and had a veto on all acts of the legislation, and no law was binding on the public without his approbation, promulgation, and consent. He nominated a nobility and created barons and knights, imposed oaths of allegiance and fealty upon them and all public officers of the state, and was not without laws of treason. The House of Keys were the only part of the Government that attempted any appearance of independent reaction; although they were elected by himself,—without the will of the king "none of the Keys were to be." He nominated the Bishop of Sodor and Man, which Lord Coke thinks more strongly indicative of royal authority than any other prerogative. He had the power of life and death, pardoned malefactors or inflicted cruel punishment in the most arbitrary manner. He levied taxes with the consent of the Keys on all shipping, whether employed in the herring fishery or in the trade of exports and imports; he coined money; he had the power of making peace or war, and constructed fortresses and military posts without control; he raised soldiers, and organized the protection of the country as commander-in-chief; or he armed fleets to make foreign aggression, negotiated treaties of peace, and made territorial arrangements according to his pleasure. It was imperative upon all tenants of land or of cottages, mills, mines, and minerals, to pay him a stated rent for their holdings, which, however, once settled, could not be varied but by public and competent courts; and the mountain commons or the Lord's forest* were subject to his appropriation on similar terms to his other rents, after inspection by the Setting Quest. Moreover, he was the last resort of all mulctures, forfeitures, fines, deodands, treasure trove, strays on the land and waifs of the sea. The fish and fowl

* Forest is now an obsolete term in reference to the mountains of Man, in so far as it refers to trees; but there is reason to conclude that they were not without trees of old, for bog timber is found in the turbaries, at high elevations on the mountain table lands.

usually considered game, and appertaining to royalty—sturgeon, porpoises, whales, heron, deer, &c., were reserved for the king's use by law, and accorded to him by his subjects; everything in the island recognized the authority of the lord and king.

The title of Queens of Man is frequently recognized and their rights of succession to power and the sovereignty established by usage and custom. Even in very recent times the inheritance of the Isle passed from the house of Derby to that of Atholl by the female line, with all the prerogatives and regalities intact.

Almost the only regalia wanting in this formidable list are the sceptre and globe which I have not found mentioned either in record or tradition. Even without the sceptre and globe it is manifest that the throne of Man was surrounded with many of the symbols of despotism. But on the other hand the privileges to the subject tolerated by the king were also great, many, well secured, and established by law and custom, in reference to property and personal liberty, as well as preference to and exclusion of strangers. Some of these privileges were anomalous, if not directly incompatible with the absolutism of the king; indeed may be denominated the immunities and prerogatives of the subject. Amidst the changes made latterly in order to liberalize in some degree the privileges of Manxmen and their exclusiveness against strangers, little has been attempted which affects materially the despotism of laws and customs. It would appear that the sovereign's power had hitherto been exercised with so much moderation that the people had no desire to see it modified. They shared in the advantages it secured. The enjoyment of their own privileges deprived the theoretical despotism of the king of its sting. The yearnings for progress in letters and constitutional liberty which were going on in the world around them being neutralized.

In remote times the King of Man and his subjects may be compared to the captain and crew of a ship of war at sea, in which absolute authority and implicit obedience, at whatever

cost, are found not to be incompatible with the general comfort and happiness, or even with individual freedom. These circumstances originated as much in geographical position and the very dangerous condition of the surrounding seas, as in anything else. This Island, tolerably fertile in corn and cattle, and peopled by an industrious population, stood solitary and exposed to the most daring attacks of the vikingr at sea, who were in search of plunder and shelter; it required, therefore, not only protection but direct encouragement to settle on its lands. The inhabitants and their king, partook of the spirit of the age and adapted themselves readily to the necessity created by these circumstances; they submitted with readiness to that kind of civilization which was most powerful in affording protection and mutual support under the existing state of things. Ready obedience and servitude were, therefore, uniformly accorded by the serf to his superior feudal chief, but in return the serf expected immunities and kindnesses from the favour of a patriarchal government, and doubtless this mutual reliance on each other, established by custom and usage, has been inimical to the progress of constitutional liberty, and has survived the times of danger that originated it.

In respect of life and death, and in the punishment of offenders against the law, the power of the king was certainly arbitrary; but in all matters affecting civil rights and property, I think it will appear that in process of time law and usage overruled the absolutism of the king. I do not mean to infer that there were two conflicting powers in the state. I only wish to point out two influential forms of government,—the one, an absolute, paramount head, whose power was only restrained by the laws and customs, and a sense of justice and legal right prevailing amongst his people, acting and reacting upon each other, the result of which has been a necessity for being satisfied mutually wtih their peculiar and constitutional positions, and the permanency of both the prerogatives of the king and of the privileges of the people together throughout a long series of

turbulent and predatory ages. This ascendancy of customary usages was, I think, either a proof of their having been firmly established among the people before they were conquered and colonized by the feudal power of the vikingr, or of feudalism having been so laxly applied that the rights of the people grew up in its presence.

From the time when the *Chronicon Manniæ* begins (1066) to the time of the breaking up of the Norwegian supremacy in the Western Isles, in 1265, a period of 200 years or thereabouts, the Isle of Man was, with some interruptions, the seat of government of the kingdom of the Isles, and hence everything that is recorded in it on the subject has a reference to that country. But the code of laws and usages of this Island, and ancient glimpses of its rulers and its inhabitants carry us much farther into antiquity, so that its constitution is founded on a much longer experience than 200 years. To disbelieve the whole, which some learned authors affect to do, in the face of the evidence given, would be contrary to the rule we have begun with, and by no means suitable to the purpose we have in view. A system of law has been in operation from time immemorial, which has been on the whole very efficacious in conferring personal privileges upon the people, in a permanent manner, and securing property in an uncommon degree. I have already quoted from Lord Coke that the "*Jura regalia* are *ab origine*, and have neither been interrupted nor discontinued from time immemorial; although the Isle of Man has been colonized, invaded, over-run, and subdued five or six times in the course of ages, the *jus ipsius Insulæ* has never been overthrown." I therefore think it very interesting to study even the minutest and apparently most insignificant fragment of its local histories or antiquities calculated to illustrate our subject, particularly those of the original inhabitants, the Celts, and of their priests, the Druids. Perhaps, were the primitive groundwork of civilization more studied, were antiquities compared with modern things, we might better comprehend real progress; experience might enable us to legislate, not on theory, but on a groundwork more con-

sistent with the revealed nature of mankind; and most probably that which we do might not so often require to be undone.

It cannot be denied that despotism, in every aspect, has as often failed in producing the stable and enduring happiness of nations, as any other form of government. More depends upon the temperament of a people and the difficulties of their position, than on the mere form of government, and still more on the intellectual element and nature of the power which nourishes and enlivens the civilization. Property and the civil and ecclesiastical privileges being secure, people are less fastidious in transferring their allegiance to changes of rulers. From very early ages, the natives of the Island have been necessitated to organize themselves against all invaders, and even against their king and rulers, in respect of their property and their own national hereditary rights, but they have uniformly respected the monarchical element of government.

In order to obtain some data to help us to ascertain the probable origin of the Manx code, and to analyse in detail its component parts, we must shortly avail ourselves of history,—endeavour to point out some of the races of men, and some of the leading and influential persons from whom the laws and usages of the Island have probably come, and apply the remains of antiquity we are possessed of as a test of probability. Doubtless the Island was colonized antecedent to the introduction of the Gospel of Jesus Christ into Britain; and Manx tradition is right when it ascribes its primitive civilization, such as it was, to the mysteries of Celtic Paganism; even to this day the natural mind is eminently prone to deteriorate towards Paganism; it is very probable, nay certain, therefore, that some of our customs and usages took their rise in that age. Several superstitions refer to the first ruler of Man, Mannanan Mac-ee-Lheir, a paynim, who reigned long before the Orrys were first heard of and before there were kings in Dalby; but Manx tradition takes little or no notice of the Pagan priests, generally known as the Druids, although doubtless they must

have had a powerful influence in the formation of Celtic civilization. Tacitus informs us that the Roman general Paulinus Suetonius in the reign of the Emperor Nero, invaded "the celebrated Island Mona, (now Anglesea,) the seat of the Druids, the priests of the Celtic nations of Europe,—a very populous country, and a receptacle for all sorts of deserters." If Anglesea was a very populous country and celebrated in those ages, the lurking place of deserters and refugees from the Roman provinces of Britain, doubtless the Isle of Man, the Mona of modern days, partook of the delinquency. The civilization of Anglesea, and that of Man, were more identical then than at the present time, their privileges and their architectural edifices the same, viz., Druidical circles, cairns, barrows, and redoubts, and perhaps keylls,* (not keeils). At this distance of time, we look at the Isle of Man then as an obscure and desolate island, and its inhabitants as incapable of making any political effort; whereas, on the contrary, we find the Roman captain Ostorius Scapula complains against the warlike opposition of the Manx people to the extension of Roman power in Galloway. War was the fashion and the progress of these times, and when he had vanquished Voadicia and annexed Galloway to the Roman empire in Britain, doubtless he would punish the Manx for the assistance they had given that Queen; take possession of the Island and form a Roman station in it. That this station was at Castletown is most probable from the altar "*Jovi Augusti*" having been found there; which suggestion gives a very high antiquity to Castletown as the capital of the Island. In all probability the Island was soon after this period far advanced in the civilization of the age, for the persecution of the primitive Christians in Britain, by the Roman Emperors, drove many refugees to these islands for safety, at a time when the Druids must have been in the ascendancy, and in possession of their Celtic form of government. Tribes of Celts, as we learn from Roman historians, occupied most of the countries of Europe, the principal form of whose government, in

* Kayll in the Manx language signifies a grove of trees.

addition to their customary usages, was an annual assemblage of their nobles and chief men for the purposes of state. Archbishop Spottiswood states that the Christians who retired before the persecution of Dioclesian (284) in England, were well received by Cartalinth, King of Man. In all probability the keeils and the cemeteries of stone graves began about this time, and continued to flourish till the territorial division of parishes took its rise. It is well known that the establishment of Christianity here and a regular succession of Christian bishops are usually ascribed to the fifth century, but I think that the remains of the keeils and stone graves prove that Christianity prevailed in the Island before. The next allusion to kings in the Isle of Man is made during the connection of this Island with the early Saxons and the royal tribes of North Wales, from A.D. 517 to 919 or thereabouts. Jocelinus says that Eubonia in the days of St. Patrick was subject to Britain. In the chronicles of the Celtic Princes of Wales, it is stated that Howell, King of Man, died 825: Daniel of Bangor in 584, about which time parochial districts are recorded. Orosius, who wrote about A.D. 420, in describing the geography of the Islands of Britain, informs us that Ireland was then inhabited by a nation of Scots, and Menavia (the Isle of Man) by a tribe of Scots. Camden (p. 1051) speaking of the Isle, says, "but after the northern nations broke in like a violent tempest upon these southern parts, it became subject to the Scots." Camden, in this passage, appears to classify the Scots with the northern nations of the Vikings, but the Scots were long known in the Deucaledonian and Irish seas before the time of the Norwegian conquest of the Isles. According to Scottish history, Fergus, the first King of the Scots, (if history of that age can be credited,) flourished before the Romans invaded Britain, in which period doubtless must be placed the Druids and those cairns, tumuli and stone circles, which form the subject of the last chapter. To this period also must belong the Druidic remains found so numerously in the Hebrides, especially in the Islands of Fladda and Iona, as well as in the Isle of Man; so that

we must admit the religious customs of these islands to have been identical even at that early period. After the fifth century the Scots are frequently mentioned as a tribe of Celts frequenting the various islands and the west coast of Scotland. They are mentioned by Orosius as the inhabitants of Hibernia in his time, as already stated. Hector Boethius believed that the early Scottish princes, about the beginning of our era, retired into the Isle of Man to be educated by the learned there,—"the seat of learning and the mansion of the muses." Some of the first Bishops of Bangor, in Wales, a bishopric founded in the sixth century, were Scottish men. Beda also says that the Isle of Man was inhabited by Scots, and in the *Chronicon Manniæ* it is stated that Godred Cronan, at the time he conquered Man, (1066) had the Scots in such subjection that they dared not to drive more than three nails into their boats without his permission, or raise them above three streaks high.

Notwithstanding this long pedigree of the descent of this tribe, so conspicuous in history from having overrun and conquered, and ultimately given their name to Scotland, we have no satisfactory account of the origin or of the etymology of the word "Scot." Although the question has puzzled most antiquaries, perhaps a few remarks here will not be out of place, for it is intimately connected with the ancient history of the Island. Mr. Macpherson, in his *Essay*, and Mr. Whitaker, in his *History of the Britons*, enter earnestly into and differ in opinion on the subject. To them I beg leave to refer for details concerning the origin of the Scots. I am inclined to believe that they were the vikingr in ages before the appearance of the Danes and Northmen in the Deucaledonian sea. Except the ancient Catini [Caithness, the Scoti of ancient geography,] no territorial name occurs in history at all approaching to the modern name of Scot. Geraldus Cambrensis (born 1146) gives the title to the kingdom of Argyle, but I can find out no territorial name there at all indicating the word. In an old manuscript, descriptive of corbs, customs, and usages in the Isle of

of Man, I find the shipping or boats appearing off the coast constantly mentioned under the name of "Scouts." In the Gælic language "Scuit" is a similar word, and "Skit" in the Irish. It is very probable, therefore, that Scot became first applied to the maritime Celts, and generally to those bands of seafaring men who constituted the earliest vikingr of these seas; but I cannot discover that the first Scots ever were at first a territorial tribe of the great Celtic family. In fine, that the Celts, the Picts, and the Scots were identical in race, speaking the same language, but differing in dialect and pursuits; and that the latter became intimately mixed up with the Northmen of the dark ages, who overran the Hebrides and the western coasts of Caledonia. Perhaps, too, as the seafaring men of the early Britons, they had been mixed up with the Phœnicians, who traded with Britain and Ireland in the first ages.

Although it is the recorded opinion that the earliest Scottish princes received their education in the Isle of Man, it is not stated that the Scots ever gave kings to the country. Camden, out of *Nennius*, informs us that the Island was conquered by one Binley, a Scot; but we do not hear that Manx history recognizes a succession of Scottish sovereigns in those ages. Mannanan Mac-ee-Lheir is on all hands acknowledged to have been a Paynim of the Druidical age of hillocks and groves, and is one of the representatives of our primitive Constitution. Cumming's *Sacheverell* (p. 24) says—"They (the Manx nation) pretend he was the son of a king of Ulster, and brother to Fergus II., who restored the kingdom of Scotland B.C. 422." It is remarkable that this is precisely the origin of the Scots argued for in Mr. Whitaker's *History of the Britons*, excepting the date, which places that event subsequent to the Christian era, instead of anterior to it. The Rev. Mr. Cumming, in note 52, says—"The Druids called the God of the Sea Mannanan. May not this circumstance in connection with the prevalence of Druidism in the Isle of Man account for the above legend?" I would add and suggest that the earliest

seafaring Scots had their origin and future ascendancy from the Druids of Eubonia and the Ebudæ, who were ultimately supplanted by St. Patrick, St. Columba, and the Culdees, who were in their turn succeeded by the Northmen and Roman Catholics.

After the Scots (starting from the Ebudæ and Iona) had made themselves masters of the whole of Scotland in the tenth century, we hear little or nothing of them in Manx history till the purchase of Man and the Western Isles, in 1265, by Alexander III. That event appears to have been the summit of their ambition in the first ages. But we find the Saxons and Britons of Northumberland and Wales under their kings making inroads upon Man for several centuries in succession. In fact after it had been overrun by Edwin, King of Northumberland, the English appear never to have lost sight of Man, and since that period the foundation of the paramount influence and protection of the Isle has been laid, which has culminated in the reign of Queen Victoria. Edwin had been provoked to extend the force of his arms to Mannin (about 550), in consequence of one of its chiefs, whose name is not mentioned, having allied himself with the famous Prince Arthur,* one of the most successful opponents the Saxons ever encountered in Britain. This Manx chief accompanied Prince Arthur in an expedition to Ireland, paid him homage, and was received as one of his Knights of the Round Table,—the earliest board of chivalry in Europe. The members of which were called "warriors of Arthur," and one of their most distinguishing pursuits was the "*quest of the graal*;"† it invested the knights with a high order of civilization in those ages.

In 973, Macon, king of Man, paid homage to the renowned Edgar, fiast king of all England after the disappearance of the Heptarchy, and was appointed his admiral on the British seas, and sailed with 360 ships for the protection of the coasts of England and the Isle of Man against pirates. Edgar had suc-

* *Arthur* signifies a prince, a superior, in the Manx language.

† See *Blackwood's Magazine* for September, 1860.

ceeded in rendering the Welsh princes tributary to him, together with many of the surrounding chiefs, in token of which he caused himself to be rowed over the river Dee, in Cheshire, by Macon and seven others, one of whom is recorded as a Scot.‡

This connection between the king of England and that of Man was rendered more than ever necessary in this century by the robberies and devastation of such men as Sweyn, and other Danish Vikingr, who had greatly increased, and we find it perpetuated through every dynasty from the days of Prince Arthur until the sovereignty has merged in the crown of Queen Victoria. The tenth century was a peculiarly turbulent time for a domestic code of legendary breast laws to have become consolidated into prescriptive usages and customs, such as that of the Isle of Man! and I question that it was the age in which our lawgivers the Orrys flourished. The Deemsters, &c., who in 1417, at the command of Sir John Stanley, recorded for the first time these legendary forms, called this period "the old time," "the Orrys' days;" and Cregeen's *Dictionary* gives "Horree" as the designation of a highway robber. At the time this first of our records took place, Sir John, of his own free grace, confirmed the inhabitants in the ancient holdings of their lands by "*the tenure of the straw*,"—"*per traditionem stipulæ*," as it is termed, and also of his own free will, took measures to relieve his tenants from the oppressions of the clergy which had accumulated upon them during the sovereignty of the Norwegian kings, and the anarchy produced by the Scottish conquest.*

But to revert also to the homage and fealty paid by the kings of Man to neighbouring princes, and the nature of their intercourse with them, in illustration of their prerogatives In 1212, Reginald of Man, was a prisoner in England for some reason or

‡ It is remarkable that the great Saxon chronicle takes no notice of occurrences in the Isle of Man. The numerous expeditions of the Danes against England, and that of Magnus Barefoot against Anglesea in 1098 are recorded, but Man is not once mentioned.

* These kings were all as good Roman Catholics as if their conquests had been successful from the patronage of the Bishops of Rome, in order that they might extinguish every ember of Culdee independence.

other, for King John then ordered the Sheriffs of Rochester and Salisbury to "set" Reginald, King of Man, and his men at liberty, and to report their names and number. Next year this same King of Man had a knight's fee granted to him at Carlingford, in Ireland, near the sea; one hundred measures of corn to be paid at Drogheda, together with five tuns of wine. After him, Olave enjoyed the same honour, from England, and had letters of safe conduct granted to him, "*pro rege Manniæ quo rege fecit homagium.*" Pope Honorius, in 1223, tells Reginald, after he had surrendered the Island to the ecclesiastical superiority of the Bishop of Rome, in 1219, that his kingdom "belongs to him in hereditary right," on his agreeing to pay to the abbot of Furness Abbey ten marks in testimony of his submission; and Pope Eugenius, writing to the abbot of Furness, referring to Olave, calls him "that noble individual Olave, King of Man."*

Thus, we find the chiefs of Man cultivating the good offices of Rome and of England and Wales from the earliest ages; and as Saxon influence progressed in Wales in that age, so it would progress in the Isle of Man. About one hundred years after Macon the Kings of the Isles did homage to England, although they acknowledged themselves also vassals to Norway; and in process of time they became tributary to the King of Scotland likewise as one of their paramount lieges. In those turbulent ages a Manx king was evidently of some importance to his neighbours. Three distinct and different fealties were demanded from him; and a little king in the midst of many powerful neighbours must have had a difficult part to play. The early kings of England exacted homage and fealty from them, and granted them the fees of knighthood repeatedly. Reginald submitted to the crown of

* "Olave, brother of Reginald, having been liberated from being a prisoner in Scotland, came to Man, and soon after, accompanied by no small train of nobility, went to Saint James's." 1219.—"Reginaldus Rex Manniæ deceat vassalis Papæ." 1236.—"De protectione pro Olavo Rege Manniæ ad partes Norwegiæ profecturo." 1246.—"Pro Haraldo Rege Manniæ veniendo ad Regem in Angliam."

England on the express conditions that the admiralty of the seas should belong to him, but the kings of England never attempted any act of dominion over the inhabitants till centuries after this period, when they were called to do so by war and the intestine disorders of the country, of which I shall afterwards speak. The tribute paid to Norway was ten golden marks at every accession of the kings of Norway to the throne; and when the Island became a fief of the Scottish Crown, Magnus, the Manx king, unable to resist the power of Alexander single handed, became bound to furnish him with five galleys of twenty oars each, yearly, and as many of twelve oars, as often as required—besides mulcting the Manx people of large contributions in money and corn for the expenses of the war. When the sovereignty of the Island became vested in families of English blood, fealty to the crown was pledged not by payment of a sum of money, or as admirals of the fleet, but by heraldic presentations of homage. The tenure by which the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Duke of Northumberland held of England was that of carrying the sword of Lancaster at the coronation. The houses of Stanley and of Atholl held it by presenting two falcons to the kings of England on their accession to the throne.

From these ancient data it would appear that the Manx kings of the family of Godred Cronan were commonly styled and considered kings by the royal powers of England, Scotland, and Norway, as well as by the Pope of Rome. But it is remarkable how often their peaceable succession was disturbed, and how seldom the Manx crown passed to the legitimate heir; being often disturbed by force of arms, or by the election of their subjects.

Before proceeding to detail other regalities, allow me to notice some instances of their having been despotic at pleasure over property, life and death, especially the first kings after the conquest. They deprived the nobles of their lands, changed the tenures of their tenants, and punished offences against themselves on pain of life and limb; but latterly in reference to

property, the law and custom were well and precisely restrained. Not unfrequently the punishment of death was commuted at their pleasure to perpetual imprisonment or banishment, or to mutilation of the person, and putting out both eyes and cutting off the ears.* Nearly every crime was commutable at the king's pleasure, for a fine or forfeiture to the king; his license or passport was necessary for every person departing from the Island, and the free exportation of all goods was interdicted. The enclosing of lands was also at his pleasure, and in proof of his power and right to grant his feudal lands anciently, the act of Reginald assigning the Island of Lewis to his elder brother Olave, may be instanced. All strangers were interdicted from coming into the country farther than the church nearest their place of landing; even the bishop and persons of station were forbidden to harbour strangers without special liberty from the king; and all strangers setting at defiance the royal orders might be murdered or expelled from the Island by the natives with impunity. Could this have been the Orry race of kings, which is considered by Manxmen the original of their legendary privileges?

Usages and customs from time immemorial, besides placing the king at the head of the state, had conferred on him many royal prerogatives, absolute and despotic; but the exercise of them, beyond the course of legendary law, was impracticable and dangerous in a society which acted in concert in guarding their privileges.

When the Scots became paramount, in the fourteenth century, they ignored the title of King, and appointed Governors and Thanes, and, according to George Buchanan, King Robert Bruce advised his successors, in the spirit of caution, that the Governors of the Islands should never be permitted to be long in possession

* The author of a manuscript *History of the Island*, which I have perused, written about 1630, states that on enquiry being made of an official friend, wherefore an officer so efficient as Mr. Smith should be deprived of his situation, received for answer, "there was no reason known, farther than that the Lord gave and the Lord has taken away."

of power, in order to prevent their becoming troublesome. The Kings of England also discountenanced the royal title in Man, and more frequently granted the Isle as the *Castle, Pele and* LORDSHIP of Man, than as a kingdom, and it was ultimately very prudently dropped altogether by the Earls of Derby.

TITLE OF QUEEN OF MAN.

The title of Queen of Man is frequently mentioned, both in history and the statutes. "Our Honourable Ladie" is to have all the goods of any felon, she is to have all the goats, and doubtless became associated with the king in the constitution, —sometimes ruling the country in his absence. It is alleged in tradition that a King of North Wales acquired the Isle of Man by marriage in the olden time before the Orrys' days. The Manx kings frequently acquired the princesses of Norway and Ireland in marriage. When the marriage of Phingola of Ireland was found not to have been legally performed, Pope Alexander III. sent the cardinal prelate Vivian to the Isle of Man, to see that King Godred was married in proper form; and when Olave, who was banished to the Isle of Lodhus, married a daughter of the Earl of Ross, the wife of his brother Reginald, Queen of the Isle, was so troubled at the news that she sent letters in the name of her husband, to her son Godred Don, in the Isle of Sky, commanding him to kill Olave. The female heirs of Magnus carried the right of inheritance to William, Earl of Salisbury, in the thirteenth century; and the Duke of Atholl derived the sovereignty by heirs female in the eighteenth century. In 1613, the Countess of Derby, wife of Earl William, annulled by law the ancient custom on herrings called "herring maizes," "in regard," said the Countess, "both honourable tendering the good of the poor inhabitants of the Isle, and desirous to have the stranger well used." Here a reaction against exclusiveness to strangers first shows itself in Manx history. The softening influence of the female mind led to a relaxation of ancient custom, in favour of the stranger and the labouring fisherman, which has at the present time attained so

great a prominence that 100,000 visitors now visit our shores annually, without let or hindrance from any one.

THE CURRENCY.

To coin and issue a currency for the country was doubtless a prerogative of the sovereign; but his money, notwithstanding, had to receive the sanction of the Tynwald Court of supreme jurisdiction. In modern times, since the final revestment of the Island in the crown of Great Britain, by sale in 1825, the small currency has consisted of gold, silver, and copper coins issued from the Royal Mint at London, for the use of the Island; and the great bulk of the circulating medium consists of one pound notes issued by private bankers. Before that, the Island was open to the currency of all nations, and still may be so, though none continues now in circulation. In ancient times the currency appears to have been in a very unsettled state: indeed no notice is recorded of any insular money till 1679, when Governor Murray's copper penny became a legal tender,—although I have met with some indistinct allusion in tradition to a stamped leather currency. Subsequently various supplies of coin in copper were issued by the Derbys and the Dukes of Atholl. These always were stamped with the effigy and motto of the three legs, and on the reverse the eagle and child, with the motto "*Sans changer*," or some other insignia of the Stanleys, with the initials of the reigning sovereign. The Duke of Atholl stamped his copper coinage with the letter A, and a crown on the obverse. These pence were of the value of fourteen to one English shilling. About forty years ago paper cards or tickets, stamped for 1s., 2s. 6d., and 5s. British were legal currency, and long extensively circulated in place of silver coins of those values. Besides this card money, copper pence tokens were issued by small banking individuals in all parts of the country, until it became evident that the great number of banks of small capital which this plan gave rise to was prejudicial to the public credit, as well as the convenience, instead of being useful. But at that period, as at

present, the great bulk of the circulating medium was one pound promissory notes, paper money of private bankers, licensed by the Insular Government.

In Camden's *Britannia*, (1695), it is expressly stated that "in this Island they had no use of money till the late troubles in England, during which many Loyalists flying thither, so plentifully supplied them with it." The deficiency of a currency in early ages is borne out by the fact that the Manx paid their forfeitures to the crown of Scotland, in the fourteenth century, often in kind or in the produce of the Island. But this by no means proves that "they had not the use of money" at all. For we find that when Magnus Barefoot overran the Isles in 1098 and wintered in Man, he imposed a rate upon all cattle and maintenance for his men, payable by the inhabitants, and a payment of ten golden marks upon the sovereign in token of his vassalage to Norway, and subsequently to this, other men in power collected the royal revenues for the King of Norway. It is stated that when the Mandevilles from Ireland pillaged the Island in 1315, they carried away large quantities of silver money, which they found secreted. Allan, Lord of Galloway, also, after one of the invasions of the Galloway men, left bailiffs to collect the tribute of the country for him. From some statutes enacted, immediately after the accession of the House of Stanley, it appears that treasure trove was an object of some importance in those days, the hiding of which must have been made in consequence of the invasions of the Danes and Norwegians, and the inroads of the vikingr till the establishment of English protection under the Derbys in the beginning of the fourteenth century. In 1324, the Duke of Albany issued a golden coin, having the impression of the Manx arms; but whether it was intended for circulation in the Island is now uncertain. The first money appropriated to the Island took place when Moray was regent of Scotland; a copper coin was minted by Martholine, the Scottish Governor, in 1329, having the king's effigy on one side and a cross on the other. On several occasions gold coins

of the Saxon kings have been turned up, and even coins of the Roman empire have been found. I have met with several old Derby coins in silver, value 1s. and 6d., with the three legs and the eagle and child. They appear to have been minted from the same die that the half-pence and farthings of copper of the same age were; and it is questionable whether they ever were in circulation as a currency.—(See Train's *History*, chapter xv.)

REVENUE.

The revenue and territorial property have always been, and still are, involved in uncertainty and dispute. Consequent upon the conquest of Godred Cronan, that monarch acquired the ownership of the entire property of the Island. The tenants, previous to this, had held their lands by the tenure, ordered by Mannanan Mac-ee-Lheir, of delivering to the king a bundle of rushes or "tenure of the straw." But Godred Cronan reduced the natives to be "tenants at will;" none of his subjects could be owners of any property, and even their persons were at his disposal; and the *Chronicon Manniæ* informs us that he had the Scots in such command that they durst not build their scouts more than three streaks of boarding high, thereby rendering them useless and unsafe as vessels of transit, which arbitrary measures, mentioned in the *Chronicon* as innovations consequent to his conquest, clearly show that the natives were in possession of valuable privileges and liberties antecedently. But this condition of absolute subjection did not last long. Thirty-two years after the conquest, Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, overran the Islands of the Deucaledonian Sea, and imposed upon their chiefs a feudal tribute or rent for the lands they occupied. The Kings of Man, as has been already mentioned, were to acknowledge his superiority by paying ten golden marks at the accession of every Norwegian king to the throne. This dominion of the paramount kings of Norway, backed by the natives themselves perseveringly upholding ancient rights, must have changed in some degree the nature of the tenures held by Manx subjects, for we find that some of the more influential inhabitants in the

days of Olave, the grandson of Godred Cronan, and men of nobility, were in possession of hereditary property.

We are in a great measure ignorant of the value of the revenue of the Island in the dark ages. At present, the property belonging to the crown consists only of—

(1) A fixed rental on all the quarterlands in the form of fines paid annually, which has existed from time immemorial, and on all intacks enclosed from the mountain wastes, which have been from time to time appropriated by license from the kings or lords, with the consent of the Setting Quest.

(2) The absolute possession of all minerals, and the royalties or rents of all mines, quarries, &c.

(3) A certain portion of tithes called the crown tithes.

(4) A moderate customs duty on all exports and imports.

(5) The proceeds of all licenses, fines, forfeitures, deodands, treasure trove, mulctures, boons, suits, and services, and other minor sources of income, such as—

(6) Anciently twopence per annum was paid to the lord by all persons exercising trades and professions. There were besides other minor sources of revenue.

Let us shortly review the original sources of this revenue and the conditions under which it has come down to our own time as far as we are able. This will in some degree, I hope, enable us to form clearer notions of the property of the Manx sovereignty and help us to understand the state of that property in those ages wherein it appears to be at first sight rather confused and indefinable.

At the present time, the annual income proceeding from the above sources far exceeds the current expenses of the Insular Government. Since 1765, the year of negotiations for the revestment of the Island in the British crown, this excess has accumulated in the British Exchequer to an immense sum of money, but the House of Derby, in former times, often found the Lordship a losing concern. It is recorded that their large estates in England enabled them to expend vast sums of money

for the protection of the country, and in building harbours for the accommodation of their people, beyond the revenue realized from the Isle itself, which their relations as feudal lords of the Isle rendered it incumbent on them to do. After the accession of the Atholl family, little in comparison was expended upon the defences of the coast and the harbours. Castle Rushen and Peel Castle and its Cathedral went to total ruin, and subsequent to the revestment, in 1765, those noble edifices—especially those on the Holm of Peel—fell into irretrievable decay, the state they are now in. The harbours and educational buildings are the only edifices to which the British Exchequer has made any attempt to fulfil the duties of a paramount and feudal sovereign.

The comparative value of money here in different ages is rather curiously exemplified by the various sales of the sovereignty. In 1265 the regalities and prerogatives were valued at 4,000 marks (about £2,666 sterling), and an annual payment of 100 marks for ever.* In 1281, Margaret, daughter of Alexander, King of Scotland, being affianced to Eric, Prince of Norway, the Isle of Man was conveyed to the Norwegian crown by a formal deed or charter still in existence, in which it is valued at no less a sum than £100,000. In 1765 the regal rights of public property and revenue were purchased by the British Parliament for £72,000, and subsequently an annual rate, payable to the Duke of Atholl out of the Excise taxes, of about £3,000 per annum.

In 1827 the Duke of Atholl received for his feudal and remaining rights in the Lordship of the Island, the large amount of £417,000. The sum paid by Bishop Bec for the Island, in the fourteenth century is not known, nor is the price given for it by Lord Scrope to the Earl of Salisbury ascertained.

Lastly, in reference to income, there is also that extensive tract of mountain wastes and commons, usually termed the king's forest in the ancient statutes, comprising about 27,000 acres or upwards. It comprises the range of mountains in the middle of the Island, which never have been enclosed or appro-

* See Oliver's *Monumenta*, Vol. II.

priated, and are not productive of any income until enclosed—a process which has been going on gradually for centuries. Intacks are enclosed at a small annual lord's rent, according to the feudal tenure, which appears to be more a recognition of the paramount superiority of the lord over every landed proprietor, in conformity with the statutes, than an adequate value for the land. These mountains have constituted from time immemorial the king's forest, and are surrounded by a ring boundary or fence, which separates them from the arable land held by the tenants of the lower districts, with the understanding that their pasturages and turbaries, ways and water-courses on the mountains are the unallottable commons of the Island, except under restrictions which have been already alluded to.

The ancient statutes contain clauses for the protection of the king's deer in the forest, as well as for the preservation of the turbaries and the pasturage for the use of the tenants in common, which is another recognition of the interest of the king and his subjects being a common interest, established by law. Godred, in 1237, established a royal forest in Man, and enacted forest laws, similar to those made by Howel, in Wales, two centuries before; and the office of ancient forester is still in existence here. Anciently, too, the mountains contained the purr or wild pig, which is now extinct. There is no record or tradition to show that the deer ever were numerous, or flourished abundantly on the Manx hills. One of the Derbys stocked the Calf Island with deer, but the deer have never flourished. On the contrary, I would infer that they were persecuted and discouraged by the resident natives. In a debate in the House of Keys, in the year 1858, on the division of the commons, a member stated it to be the tradition, that the lord's deer were driven from the Sleiu Roie, and hurled over the precipices at the Drimnos-Coscaigue into the sea, and in that manner got rid of. However that may be, it is now certain that no deer have existed in the forest within the memory of man. The lord appears to have abandoned any claim to the pasturage; and the people, in addition to having

the use in common of the turbaries for fuel, have stocked the mountain portion with vast numbers of sheep, and certainly have regularly perpetuated their tenure; whereas the lords appear to have allowed their right of pasturage to lapse—but "nulla tempus occurrit regi."

By the statute (1561), the captain of the king's castle, at Peel, was ordered to appoint two men to look after the pastures allotted to them, so that they might be kept and employed for the lord's profit and advantage. What is to be understood by these pastures? Were they those in the vicinity of the said castle, or were they enclosures from the mountains? or did they comprise the whole of the lord's forests? It being now nearly 800 years since Godred Cronan, by virtue of conquest, seized upon the rights of the natives, and abrogated the allodial tenure of the "straw" in favour of the feudal tenure or tenant rent, this subject ought to be viewed in a general sense, and according to the law of nations. These commons are the king's, in trust for the commonwealth, and his own interest, and ought to be disposed of so as to bring profit to the commonwealth and his own heirs and successors. If the despotic rights of Godred Cronan originated in conquest and violence, and descended to his successors in the sovereignty, so the rights of the people were in some degree recovered by conquests subsequently made and by the forfeitures of the interests of Lords Scrope and Northumberland to the crown of England, confirmed by the Parliament of England, which sanctions the law of nations. In the lengthened litigation which took place in 1608, between the Earl of Derby and Robert, Earl of Salisbury, and Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, it was found by the judges of the several benches of Justices in London that the grant of the Island to Sir John Stanley was warranted in Common Law, and therefore decided in favour of the Stanleys. If Common Law decided the case at that time, it ought to hold good whenever a dispute arises regarding the appropriation of the commons.

PUBLIC LANDS AND COMMONS.

Moreover, according to the feudal tenure, the lord has a direct interest in the cultivation of the land, as well as the tenant, or cultivator. Both are benefitted by a reclamation of the mountain wastes—the lord by the rent, the commoner by the farm produce. Not so with the allodial tenure, which is free from all payments to a feudal lord or king of the soil as such; in this case the tenant pays taxes, but not feudal rent. I am not aware that the lord of the Island has ever refused to grant intacks of the forest to competent tenants on a fixed rent. The Setting Quest, as guardian of the rights of common for the inhabitants, not unfrequently put their interdicts upon grants which they considered to interfere with the necessities and conveniences of the people, and of which they must be allowed a voice in judgment. A compact to pay the feudal lord a rent charge immediately abrogates the allodium; but in the first instance the allodial tenure was destroyed in this Island by conquest and violence, which has subsequently been confirmed by custom and usage. Hence it appears to be established that certain parts of the commons cannot be granted, or alienated from their customary uses, such as turbaries, roads, quarries, and easements in particular localities, necessary and convenient to the tenants of the quarterlands and enclosed intacks, already paying a rent to the lord upon lands granted from the first, and enjoyed under the faith that such easements shall not be taken away. When the tenure is feudal, it is common sense to suppose that the feudal lord has a right to dispose of the commons according to law and usage; he renders his grants feudal by exacting a rent charge, and thereby destroys the allodium of the lands. It is clearly a question whether the mountain commons are in any way allodial? Looking at the question in a legal point of view, did all the unappropriated lands fall at once under the changes produced by the conquest of Godred Cronan? Much about the same period of time, the allodial tenure of lands in England was changed to the

feudal by William the Conqueror. From the foregoing pages there is reason to think that the Manx customs and forms were based on the system of the Saxons and the old Welsh. The Orrys were coeval with, if not antecedent to the Danish power in England, but the disappearance of the allodial system is not ascribed to either of the latter; on the contrary, the Danish and Norwegian kings were feudal, which they appear to have initiated. This parallelism in the ethnology of the two countries is interesting. Under the Saxon and Welsh kings or chiefs, all lands were held by a free allodial tenure, "*ab infero ad cœlum.*" When it became abrogated and the feudal tenure substituted, did all the lands held as commons, and belonging to no one individual, also undergo the change of tenure, similar to the lands that were occupied and enclosed? As the feudal tenure consists of rent payable by the land, one would think that where there was no rent paid in perpetuity, as in the unappropriated commons, the land would remain still free and allodial—that is allottable. Here the legal phrase "*nulla terra sine Domino*" applies; and the feudal superior becomes the *ultima hæres* of all real property. From the nature of the original tenure of the straw, and the immemorial use of possession, and other data accumulated, it appears to me that the tenants of the Lord had, before the Norwegian conquest, a much greater interest in the public property of the country than they have had since; and that they still retain a great interest in the *questiones vexatæ*, viz., the harbours and the commons which are now under discussion. Could conquest by a foreign vikingr, such as Godred Cronan was, set aside for ever the original tenure of inhabitants tenacious in preserving their original customs? I think not. I argue on the assumption that the law of Godred Cronan has not descended to us unmitigated, for which opinion I think good reason has been shown.

Can a portion of common pay a feudal rent to the lord without having been appropriated by charter? Wherever the tenant grazes his sheep on the commons without paying a rent charge, he does

so upon the original allodial tenure; if the mountains belong to the lord as feudal lands, the tenant trespasses unconstitutionally who grazes his sheep on them without paying a rent. Any person who does not pay rent of some kind to the feudal lord, has no right or claim to any of the mountains on a division being made. This principle makes every tenant of a cottage on which a rent is chargeable a claimant on the mountain. Can it be proved that the holding by which the commonalty enjoy the rights of common is purely allodial? If the commons are allodial, the mines and minerals of them may be purchased. If they do not belong to the lord the value of the mountains is vastly enhanced to all who have a claim to allotment. But wherever intack rent is paid it destroys the allodium. I believe some Islands of the Hebrides are still allodial, likewise some lands in England. It bears on this question to state that the grants to the Earl of Northumberland and Sir John Stanley by the kings of England, enumerate and convey baronial lands, but we may guess them to be the castle of Rushen and of Peel and the lordship of Man. And the English Parliament before now has declared that the Isle of Man is a separate nation of itself and "neither part nor parcel of England," but notwithstanding this declaration, when the Manx sovereign came to be of English descent or when the interests of England came to be involved in Manx affairs, Parliament has passed a vote declaratory of the law. Thus the Duke of Northumberland above mentioned being under attainder in the reign of Henry IV. was declared to have forfeited his right to the sovereignty of Man, as well as to his estates in England; but the rights of the Manx people have always been respected by that House as those of a distinct and independent nation, whose own interests were in their own management. Now that the sovereignty has been revested permanently in the crown of England, the subject is one which ought to be clearly understood. I might adduce several instances of the non-interference of Parliament in reference to the established rights and usages of the people of Man, but doing

so would lead greatly into details. The crown of England has never interfered with or granted charters of the interests of the people to the Lords thereof, whatever the Scandinavian princes may have done.

Thus much permit in reference to the *questio vexata* regarding the division of the commons, and the lord's right therein.

The principal duty of the forester is to farm and collect the mountain rents from the tenants who use them as commons. He claims for the lord three half-pence for the grass of every sheep and so much for every cart load of turf carried away by them. John Starkey, the late forester, informed me that for the most part he managed to get paid, but sometimes was under the necessity of recovering by legal process. In this manner the feudal holding of the sovereign over them has been kept up.

It appears that the poorer inhabitants of the country did not for a long period recover from the idleness, insecurity, and desolation consequent to the numerous contentions for the sovereignty of the Isles and from the robberies of other adventurers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is also very evident that under such conditions of society, the sources of the public income could not have been productive of a legitimate revenue, sufficient for the support of any style of royalty, or to keep up such feudal castles as those of Castle Rushen and the Peel; for, as feudal fortalices, those castles, in the thirteenth century, could have been surpassed by a very few only, even in England, for magnitude and strength. To garrison and defend them efficiently, must have required a larger income annually than we can discover as having been possessed by the sovereigns of the Isle of Man in those ages.* Or are we to suppose that the western Isles of Scotland contributed towards their support and defence, or that the ancient kings of Man derived a revenue from the donations and forfeitures accruing from the surrounding people—

* According to the deed or charter of sale to the crown, in 1765, now in the possession of the Rev. S. Simpson, the annual income of the lord did not then much exceed £8,000 British. The revenue from all sources is about £35,000 per annum at the present time.

just as Jerusalem has long been supported by the gifts and contributions of Christendom. For instance, Somerled, Thane of Argyle, and for a number of years king of half of the Isles, must have been in possession of revenues to a considerable extent; for, after having overrun Man successfully and made himself master of half of the kingdom of the Isles, he with the patronage and aid of Norway, felt himself so strong that he formed designs against the crown of Scotland itself, and was slain in the attempt. In Camden it is stated that the kings of the Island made many wars in order to enlarge their dominions, not only in Venedotia, or North Wales, and Anglesea, but also in Ireland, where Godred was crowned King of Dublin, and subdued great part of Leinster, but left it not to his successors. Revenues for the prosecuting of such ambitious views could not have accrued from the sources of income at present visible to us. The feudal rent charges were not then much, if at all, greater than at present. The trade and taxation of the Island in those ages must have been very limited, and the funds necessary for such attempts could not have arisen from them alone, but must have been increased from some other taxations or voluntary exactions from the people. Accordingly we can trace in history other sources of income than those productive of revenue in the present day. Thus we find that Reginald, in 1225, obtained a contribution from his subjects of 100 marks, for the purpose of enabling him to pay a visit to the King of England. During the reign of Edward III., in 1343, the Manx purchased from the Scots a truce of twelve months, with the consent of William, Earl of Salisbury, for 300 marks, which they paid partly in money and partly in kind, or wheat. The Norwegian forces, when they wintered in the Island, after being defeated by the Scots in Bute, in 1230, demanded three pence for every head of cattle in the place, besides provisions for their ships and men—a very heavy tax for those early ages. Bishop Marcus made the smoke penny chargeable on every house; and when the Scottish parliament, in 1364, deliberated as to the means of a solid peace with England,

the Island was valued at 1,000 marks per annum. The exportation of all produce was wholly under the control of the king and council. The transportation of money was not allowed, except at the will of the king; and no persons, especially young people, were permitted to leave without his sanction. Anciently, it was customary for "all men of occupation, of what science soever they be, to pay for the same two pence yearly;" which is something similar to the custom of the present day, whereby three days' labour or their value is levied on every house and cottage throughout the country, either in kind or in money, for making and repairing the highways and bridges.* It would also appear that the king had inappropriated lands at his disposal, or could alienate those of his tenants, for Olave and other Northmen granted Manx lands towards endowing the abbeys. According to a deed in the Registry of the Great Seal, Robert II., as lord paramount sovereign of Man, in 1275, on the marriage of Agnes de Dunbar to James de Douglas, knight of Dalkeith, granted her "in good faith, one hundred librates† of land in the Isle of Man, as a free marriage portion, in a suitable place, and what seizure or possession of said Island, with God's assistance, we or they may be enabled to regain after, through war or agreement of peace." This grant appears to imply the existence of crown lands in the Isle of Man, other than at present known, the repossession of which was anticipated on the expulsion or successful subjugation of the sovereigns of English extraction, who had expelled the Scots. Or was it an invitation to Sir James de Douglas to undertake the re-conquest of an Island, wherein his own personal advantage was concerned? Or had it a more general application to lands the possession of which was held by existing tenants, at the pleasure of the sovereign of the Islands? Did this grant of 5,000 acres of land ever come into effect? In 1281 the Island was reconveyed to the crown of Norway by Robert II., and in 1293 Lord Salisbury was in possession and sold it to Lord Scrope, which sale took effect to the exclusion of the above. Doubtless the sove-

* Feltham (p. 148) gives several modern examples of donations of money.

† A librate of land measured about fifty acres

reigns in old times granted lands to their barons and others, for according to the *Lex Scripta*, the ecclesiastical barons forfeited the lands which had been granted to them, by failing to appear to do homage to Sir John Stanley, their lawful sovereign, in 1422. These lands had been granted originally by former chiefs. In or about 522, the abbot of Bangor, in Carnarvonshire, had been endowed with certain franchises of land in the Isle of Man, by Moel Gweyn, nephew of King Arthur, paramount King of Wales. This was long before King Orry's days, and their locality is not now known. On like manner, the holdings of the Candida Casa of Whithorne, in Galloway, and those of Saball, were forfeited; the rents of the latter are paid to this day to the Lord out of the barony lands in the parish of Patrick. The abbots of Furness in Lancashire received lands from King Olave, and upon a portion of them they built the Abbey of Rushen, the ruins of which are still in existence. Perhaps the baronial lands of the Bishop of Sodor and Man, and other lands of parishes were endowments by the chiefs of the Island in ancient times; but there is reason to doubt this, as we shall presently show. By those lands and the many privileges with which the Kings of Man had garnished the church from time immemorial, the ecclesiastical barons acquired a territorial footing, and an interest in the government of the country, which doubtless had an influence in modifying the foundations of the Code of Laws and the civilization which we enjoy at the present day. However this may be, it is evident from the above facts that granting lands was anciently one of the prerogatives of the Kings of Man.* Although modern legislation has long been gradually approximating the Manx constitution to that of England, and much of it has become in a manner obsolete, yet the royal prerogatives and regalities have never been interfered with in a direct manner and therefore virtually remain intact.

* It is recorded that Aidon, King of Scotland, conferred the title of Thane on Brennus, his nephew, who in performing the military service required for his lands in Man fell fighting against the Picts.

BARONS.

In speaking of the Barons of Man it ought to be kept in mind that the title Baron did not become prevalent till about the time of the Norman conquest of England; therefore we may safely conclude that it was only after the conquest of Godred Cronan that the title became established here, and that the nobles and chiefs were first recognised, for the most part under the protection of the paramount influence of Norway, as well here as in the Hebrides and among the Northmen. The Manx barons were eight in number: (1) Bishop of Sodor and Man; (2) Abbot of Rushen; (3) Prior of Douglas; (4) Baron of St. Trinian's; (5) Abbot of Furness; (6) Abbot of Bangor and Saball; (7) Prior of St. Bede's, in Copeland; (8) Prior of Whithorne or the Candida Casa in Galloway. The Priors of Beemakin and Arbory are never mentioned in the list of barons; but the prioress of the Nunnery of St. Bridget is said to have had baronial rights. All of these are ecclesiastical barons, except Saball and St. Trinian's, and an evidence of the ambition and high standing in society of the church in the middle ages. All, doubtless, held grants of land in the Island though now lost sight of; but many of them having been forfeited reverted to the sovereign and constitute the abbey lands of the present day. The Bishop's domains and his Palace of Bishop's Court are his baronial lands, and are an exception to the general rule of feudalism, inasmuch as they are held in no tenure to the Lord, and pay no rent whatever, and are therefore allodial.* In like manner the lands known by the name of the Barony, in Maughold, lying between the Dhoon and Cornay, and also the glebe lands of that parish are freehold and pay no rent. This barony has an existence beyond all record, but is supposed to be the lands which belonged to the Priory of St. Bede, in Copeland, or to the Abbey of Furness. The Cabbal Vaal,

* Not two hundred years ago many of the parochial parsons took the title of "Sir" prefixed to their names; an old custom, however, which has not been kept up. Were these the incumbents that held freehold glebes noticed hereafter?

formerly noticed as having erect stones marking its graves, was doubtless the ancient keeil of these lands. The Vicar of Maughold, by virtue of the freehold qualification of his glebe lands, claims to this day the royalties of some iron mines found in them. The freehold lands in the Island amount to about seven only, for the most part parochial glebe lands, and these exceptions from the tenure of vassalage give rise to an enquiry not devoid of interest: since they are not verified on record, they may have originated in two ways: either they are instances of grants from the King which recognise the freehold tenure at a very ancient date, an "*imperium in imperio*," or they are holdings which had an established existence under the allodial tenure anterior to the conquest which introduced the feudal system and which survived the changes produced by it. These baronies, excepting the Bishop's, are not only obsolete, but the localities of their lands are in several instances unknown. The ruins of Ballasalla Abbey and the Abbey Lands in different parishes point out the localities of the barony of Rushen, and the priories of Douglas and Kirk Arbory and other Abbey Lands do the same. In Marown, also, a tithe or rent is still payable by some farms to the barony of St. Trinian's, which is transferable by purchase. The owner of these tithes holds them under the tenure of contributing towards the building and repairing of the chancel of the parish church of Marown, when called upon. The lands of Saball are in Patrick, and pay their rent to the Lord, but those of Bangor and others are unknown. The Bishop and some other of these barons, before their suppression, held courts of jurisdiction within their own boundaries, with many feudal privileges almost equal to those of the sovereign; the Bishops especially have had an uninterrupted succession from Germanus, who was left in charge of the church of Man by St. Patrick.* The Lord's rents chargeable upon baronial property are very low sums, and accord with the ancient value of money; having been neglected

* It is upon record that the Bishop sometimes styled himself Governor, and assumed the prerogatives of dominion during interregnums of the Lieut.-Governor.

at one time, they have not kept pace with the increased value of property in modern times. There can be little doubt that the country was of greater importance in reference to baronial tenures of land during the ascendancy of the Norwegian dynasty than it ever has been since. These have been preserved better in the Western Isles of Scotland than in the Isle of Man; for the old chieftains there set the highest value on their original tenures. Whether the kings of Man created temporal barons in early times is not now known with certainty. The baronies of Saball and St. Trinian's are the only names not ecclesiastical that have come down to our times, and they are too small to enable us to form an opinion.

The *Chronicon Manniæ* mentions the "*optimes—principes—nobiles*"—*men of great influence;* and Sacheverell says, "I find both earls and viscounts mentioned, who in my opinion, were the governors of the out Isles. There were numerous feudal chiefs in the Hebrides, and still are; and doubtless there were some also in this Island in ancient times," but the system did not prevail here, the king being the only hereditary chief, and from the minute division of territorial property into quarterlands and intack farms or estates; and from the tendency of law and custom and privileges in the country, I am inclined to think that hereditary feudal chiefs were not recognised by law here, as they are in Scotland and England, certainly not after the Scottish conquest. The lay members of the council and other chief officers of the king appear to have been considered men of great influence and perhaps barons for life originally. If men of influence were recognised as nobles and elders by usage and custom, without nomination by the sovereign, it is only additional evidence that popular customs and usages were often in those times acted upon in defiance of the prerogatives of the crown. Even in reference to the sovereignty itself, although it was hereditary and its power arbitrary, yet its descent was continually disturbed by scheming men, jealous of their rights and privileges and strong among

the people in customary usages and ability in business. The people never dreamed of abrogating royalty; but the tendency of law and usage was to make a slave of their sovereign without conferring on him local remuneration or honour commensurate to the imputed dignity.

Since the Stanleys waved the right of the regal title, *because it was better to be a great lord than a petty king*, the lords of the Isle have certainly ceased to create barons, or confer honorary titles of rank. Therefore, I will be able to notice only some of the names and titles of the old *optimes, nobiles,* and *elders* of the Island, in connection with the *principes* of the Isles, and feudal chiefs of Scotland and Norway. In the old records the chief men throughout all the Isles are not only recorded as men of large property, but as men of great influence, "notable men in those parts." Their distinction died with the man. Baronial nobility did not become hereditary till after the reign of William the Conqueror; and I cannot find that the Isle of Man ever possessed families in which nobility was hereditary. The honours of the king himself and his family were alone hereditary, and the descent was often interrupted by the machinations of the people, who seldom neglected occasions calculated to improve their own privileges. The following extracts from the *Chronicon Manniæ* may prove illustrative of the nature and tenure of the ancient Manx nobility. The chronicle says,—"As soon as the nobility* heard that Lagman, who had seized on the kingdom, and gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was dead, they dispatched their ambassadors to Murecard O'Brien, King of Ireland, desiring that he would send them some diligent man or other of royal extraction to rule over them."

"(A.D. 1097.) One Ingemund was sent by the King of Norway to get the sovereignty. In the same year there was a civil war in Man and a battle was fought between the inhabitants of the Isle of Man at Santwath. Those of the north end

* Most probably the officers of the Legislature and Government.

got the victory. In this engagement were slain Earl Other* and Macmarus, the two leaders."

"(1102.) After the death of Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, who had conquered and reigned six years, the nobility sent for Olave, brother of Lagman, and he reigned ten years."

"(1144.) Godred II. began his reign, depriving some of the nobles of their estates; therefore the son of Other went to Somerled, and they made Duffglas, his son, king of the Isles. One Paul informed Godred of these frauds."

In 1226 the people declared Reginald's throne vacant, and invited Olave to take possession. 1228. Olave, accompanied with all the nobility and the *greatest part of the people of Man*, sailed over the Isles.

"(1249.) Harald, the son of Godred Don, assumed the title of King of the Isles, and banished all the noblemen that Harold, King Olave's son, had preferred."

In 1250, John, great grandson of Somerled, and Magnus, son and heir to Olave, landed together at Ronaldswath: John, attempting to put himself on the throne, was rejected by the people, who elected Magnus; and he returning in 1252, was gladly received by the Manx. Who were the people in this case, that thus, aided by universal suffrage, elected their sovereigns, "it seems the nobles, or aristocracy, sometimes controlled the kings, as they did the Pict and highland chieftains, but in this case a more extensive body of the people seem concerned, which proves that they had, even at this early date, imbibed and established those principles of free government which we, among many of the descendants of the Goths, possess, and to which we owe our Constitution." — (See Macculloch's *Western Isles*, Vol. iii., p. 46.) This is the first instance of the people exercising a powerful influence in the

* "Earl Other," literally signifying an Ealderman (Saxon), or Eaorl (Dan.,) a commander, an elder, or ruler in a district or county for the king, a title not hereditary in that age: he must have been a Scandinavian, opposed to Macmarus, a Manxman, in civil war.

public affairs of Man and the Isles, and it will be found that they continued to exercise that power in a very active way for at least 150 years after the Scots gained possession in 1266. Their attention to nationality appears to have been kept alive by the continual aggressions against their privileges and property. Moreover, the people sometimes acted in their own name, and independent of their chief men; for they addressed a petition to Edward I., (1292) complaining of their unprotected state, and desiring to place themselves under his protection, whereupon Edward appointed a commission of three men "de quere hominum Insulæ de Man audiendis et terminandis." Again, Edward III. on the complaint and petition:—"Ex parte hominum *communitatis* Insulæ de Man, ad fidem nostram existenciam, nobis est grabiter conquerendo monstrat." Issued his writ to his justiciaries of Ireland for the relief of the parties, and the apprehension of the pirates,—"nos nolentes tantam injuriam." By such means the kings of England cultivated the loyalty and the affections of the Manx people, independent of their sovereigns or their nobility.

It is patent from what has been stated that anciently whenever the constitution of Man was in danger of being set aside, the Manx people could take the question into their own hands, independent of delegated power, and rectify the injuries made against their king, according to customary law; and that when there was no custom or usage existing as a precedent, the will of the people was appealed to and received, and the facility of combination in this small state rendered this will a very efficient power, a most remarkable thing in the dark ages.

The people of Man, when defending law and custom are also strong in the constitutional legislature of the Island. The House of Keys constitute the representatives of the people, and has been recognised as such by the sovereigns from time immemorial. The manner of their nomination for life as representatives of the people, has been objected to in modern times, and their tenure appears more like that of barons for life than parliamentary

members of the people. But they are elected much in the same fashion that the kings of England summoned their parliaments in ancient times, with the exception that the Keys lay claim to a kind of self-nomination when a vacancy occurs. They elect two men, and the sovereign chooses one of them to fill up the vacancy, so that the sovereign virtually finally elects the member. The mode of electing the Keys has not yet been altered according to those modern improvements made in Britain by almost all electoral bodies of men; but their not having done so by no means deprives them from being, according to the constitution of the country, the representatives of this people. They were elected by the people in the fifteenth century, designated such in the Statute Book, received by the Lord of the Island constitutionally, and have had certainly a long tenure of office; but any change in so grave a matter might lead to the House being totally absorbed by the British parliament, as well as to the loss of many privileges which Manxmen would have good reason to regret. For they are the very last of those provincial parliaments that about a century ago were so common in every Celtic nation of Europe, the disappearance of which has not led to increasing peace and happiness among nations, however much it may have added to the convenience and concentration of powers in large states. The twenty-four Keys of this Island were "in ancient times called 'Taxaries,' or 'Taxiaxis,' whereof eight were chosen out of the out Isles, and sixteen in the land of Man, and that was in King Orry's days." They were free from presentment and personal arrest, and were sometimes called the best, sometimes the wisest, and sometimes the elders of the land. This is the class of men which the constitution recognises as the guardian of the laws and usages of the country. The kings of the Island have invariably not only recognised this House as part of the state, but as the representatives of the third estate. About 450 years ago, the council of the lord being the upper house of parliament, the recognition of the Keys by Sir John Stanley and his predecessors established the fact of that house having

existed from time immemorial, and soon after Sir Henry Byron's selection of the twenty-four from the men elected by the Sheadings (1429), confirmed the house in their rights, and their never having been annulled by the arbitrary and hereditary head of the state is further evidence of their having been an integral part of the insular feudal system so long established and so useful in the government that they could not be conveniently dispensed with. It appears to me also that the method of nomination and election, just noticed, must have been that most effectual in ensuring a regular selection of members in those ages. If we are allowed to judge from the experience of recent times there must have existed of old difficulties almost insurmountable in finding a sufficient number of members amongst an uneducated and turbulent population presentable to the lord, difficulties now happily no longer to be complained of. According to Roman historians, the assembly of nobles which constituted the national parliament of the ancient Celtic nations, considered the mass of the population little better than slaves; in fact the English serfs were slaves in the middle ages. It has not been so with the twenty-four Keys, the lower house of parliament of Man; they to the best of their judgment have defended the public and the personal privileges and liberties of the people against the arbitrary rights of their king in every age, though not always without imputations of faithlessness. Each member of the House ought to have a qualification of an income of only £100 per annum from real property; and their interests be otherwise identified with those of the country. They have long been esteemed as having done their best for the people, and having defended their stake to the last.

The kings and lords of the Island have invariably not only recognised this body as the representatives of the third estate, which comprises every non-official person in the Island, but have also often recognised the people themselves in different ways as forming part of the Manx nation as municipal electors and as state soldiers and sailors at the command of the lord. For by

the universal consent of the people, the trial by prowess was abolished in 1429, and six legislators being returned by each of the six sheadings, according to the order of the said Henry Byron, many ancient and customary laws were recorded, and the number of the House confirmed to be twenty-four, eligible as at present by the lord of the Island. From the time of the succession of the Norwegians till the establishment of this assembly of the people, the Manx members of the House had varied, or stood nominally at sixteen, that of the out Isles being eight—making up the twenty-four, or the *kaire-as-feed* of the nation. By a similar assemblage of the people, named by proper authority, her Majesty Queen Victoria might very readily settle the question in reference to the popular election of the Keys in a constitutional manner, if such a measure is desirable. The recognition of the people as an active originator of legislative power in a feudal Government, would be somewhat anomalous, but not new to this constitution; if we are to judge from the permanency of the form of government, and present prosperity of the country, we ought to conclude that the recognition of principles of British freedom has worked beneficially. A change in the constitution of the Keys, however, clearly involves many grave considerations, a closer assimilation to the constitution of the mother country, and a limitation of the absolute power of our sovereigns To govern the mass, and to improve and raise them effectually, must be the fruit of their own hands; they must eat the labour of their own hands. But how is the mechanism to be worked safely? This is the desideratum. How are the impatient subjects to be influenced and regulated? In what kind of hands are the reins of mercy and love to be placed confidingly? Certainly not in those who would abuse them for selfish and even malignant ends, or altogether devoid of the humanizing influence of philanthropy. Are there any symptoms, in the foregoing pages, of despotism having been checked and controlled effectually by the united voice of a small state? These considerations at once point to

the subject of education and imply the necessity of cultivating the milder affections of rational minds as much as to the mere power of governing by means of force of arms, and by coercing the passions of men by feudal power; but such considerations carry us beyond the direct purport of this essay, however much they may belong to history and ethnology. It is sufficient at present to point to the question.

To avoid prolonging this chapter, already too long, I shall forbear now to enter into details concerning some contingent regalities and prerogatives which were of old exercised by the Kings of Man, but which are of lesser importance, and on which I have nothing particular to say, and which will readily be found in every history. In reference to the royal prerogative of embodying military and naval forces by the king, for his own purposes and the defence of the Isle, it has always been unquestioned. As a standing force he had always as many men as was sufficient to garrison his two fortresses, and to act as constables in the preservation of the peace and sentinels in keeping watch and ward on the coast; moreover he had the power of calling upon every man between the age of sixteen and sixty years to arm for active service. Every soldier was required to be armed with bow and arrows, a sufficient doublet or habergeon sword and buckler, and to attend muster, ready to encounter the enemy upon pain of forfeiting life, body, and goods. Four men in each parish were called the parochial horse, armed with swords, long pikes, and were always to have spurs and saddles ready. Every man had to take his turn of the ordinary watch, except the captain, lieutenant, and ensign, the twenty-four keys, the moars and their runners, the coroners and lockmen, the customers and searchers of every port, one head smith, and one head or chief miller in every parish. These were to be exempt from the ordinary watch unless in the time of danger, when they as well as all other men "*for warning given*," were to be ready to encounter the enemy on pain of forfeiture of life and limb.—Old MSS.

It would appear then that the ancient organization of the people was a military one, and these facts explain the facility with which fighting men were more readily recruited in the Island in ancient than in modern times, and the effectiveness with which the people opposed any encroachment upon the public safety or their individual rights. This leads me to offer a few remarks relative to the *part* which the Manx people took on several occasions in public affairs. It is unnecessary to rehearse many minor examples of this fact, which you can find by referring to any history of the Island. When the King of Norway translated the dominion of the Western Islands to Alexander III., of Scotland, Magnus, King of Man, appears to have been an unwilling party to the transfer, and the sequel proved that his people were equally averse to it. During this state of dissatisfaction of Magnus and his people, he died in 1265, and was succeeded by his brother Reginald, who a few months afterwards was murdered by a Manx knight, named Ivar, doubtless with the view of instigating the unsettled condition of the people (of whom he appears to have been a leader) in their opposition to the Scottish rule. Ivar also allied himself with the Queen, widow of Reginald, who made every exertion in her power to place her knight on the vacant throne. The consequences were a bloody civil war of resistance against the authority of the Kings of Scotland, which lasted in a variety of forms during the long period of 124 years. All this long time the Island was harrassed not only by the government of Scottish Thanes, but the surrounding seas were infested by pirates and Irish aspirants to the crown, and others who more than once invaded the Island and mercilessly plundered the inhabitants. According to some traditions, Ivar, at the commencement of that period, assumed the government of Man, and after opposing, with much heroism, the Scottish invasion, fell at Rognalswath, with 537 Manx soldiers. On this subject David Robertson, in his *Tour*, remarks thus,—"The natives finding every effort to restore their ancient form of government frustrated, reluctantly bowed their necks to the

vigorous yoke of the Scottish monarchs. The prudence and generosity of Maurice Okerfair (1279), and the mildness of his successor, for a few years mitigated their oppression; but the Manx were soon again subjected to the control of masters less politic and merciful, under the rod of whose power their sufferings increased. With regret they looked back to the warlike dignity of their hereditary kings, and now highly prized even the small portion of freedom they sometimes enjoyed under them. Remembrance of past happiness heightened their present wretchedness. The martial genius which had animated them to repel the invader at home or obtain conquests abroad, was no longer terrible. The virtues of the people gradually degenerated, till at length by the tyranny of their new conquerors, the Manx nation sunk into a race of sullen and indolent slaves."—(Page 196.)

In 1274, under the auspices of Bishop Mark, a Scot, it was attempted to settle the dispute by prowess—by thirty combatants fighting on each side. The Manx lost the day,—all their men having fallen, while the Scots lost twenty-five. During all these scenes of civil discord, no mention is made in history of the names of the popular leaders, except that of Ivar, who was slain. The Bishop Mark, also, who negotiated in order to arrest the bloodshed, fell a sacrifice ultimately to exertions made in favour of peace. Even the names of the men who some years after signed the petition to Edward I. of England are not known. This is a peculiarity in Manx history very remarkable; but doubtless the people must have had a succession of leaders and men of influence among them.

In 1290 the men of the Island in a state of destitution and subjection, threw themselves under the protection of Edward I. by presenting him the petition just mentioned. According to Rymer, Edward took the Island under his protection about 1290. Besides the claim which this petition gave him to interfere in Manx affairs, and besides the patronage and allegiance which had existed between the kings of Man and the kings of England from time immemorial, the interest which he took, in

opposition to the legitimate claims of the Scots, was considerably strengthened by the formal surrender made in his favour by Hugh de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, of all the claims and title to the sovereignty which he inherited through Africa, princess of Man.* Notwithstanding this, Edward I. and his immediate successors temporized in giving assistance to his liege subjects of Man for many years, and in addition to their insular misfortunes, they suffered much in consequence of the continual wars between England and Scotland, which were so incessant at that period, with both of whom they had at various times cultivated friendly alliances; but they would not now receive protection from the Scots at a sacrifice of their national constitution, although engrained from them *ab initio*, but whose influence has been gradually eclipsed by a more favoured rule. The kings of England contented themselves with appointing custodes or keepers of the Island as sovereigns, leaving active war to Montacute, who claimed the crown in right of princess Mary, and who ultimately succeeded in wresting it from the Scots, about the year 1344, after which they never again regained the dominion of it, although their influence continued powerful for centuries after;—indeed, I have heard an educated Manx gentleman allege, so powerful, that you might as well expect to remove the mountains as to get over the influence of the Scots. However, this protracted opposition to the Scots, by the majority of the people, could not be mistaken; it was a national movement which displayed an independence in action unexpected at so early an age as the thirteenth century, when not one breath of national liberty had as yet been heard among the great people of Europe. The movement was in a small nation certainly, but still it was a national movement well worthy of being studied, as well as the individuals among whom it originated, which have been so uncommented on in all our histories. Although the Manx have often been insubordinate to their kings, and have often been subdued, they have uniformly opposed every foreign invasion

* Prynne.

that threatened the expulsion of the established dynasty of their sovereigns or a change in their established rights and privileges as a people.

In this respect the thirteenth century is interesting. The people were then in full possession of their unrecorded breast laws, which they inherited *ab initio*, (most probably from the Druids in a great measure), and which had passed through the ordeal of the Orry days, at the time when the earthworks we have been describing were still in fashion as unhewn places of worship, or as simple means of defence and as cemeteries for the dead. There can be little doubt that such movements took place amongst a race of men in this monastic spot, who were familiar with the principles of constitutional independence and love of true liberty which have been making so decided advances in modern ages of reform.

Let us notice the consequences somewhat in detail. After a century of civil discord just alluded to so shortly, Sir John Stanley was appointed to the sovereignty of Man by Henry IV., king of England. Doubtless he undertook the government, fully aware of the condition into which the Manx people had fallen. To minister to the wounds and assuage the miseries which had resulted from procrastinated insubordination was no easy task; proceeding with great sagacity, he took no advantage of the difficulties he found them labouring under, nor did he attempt to make any change in the constitution of their laws and customs, but set about rectifying things with a liberality superior to the spirit of the age. The only unpopular act he committed was his interference with the traditionary tenure by which the natives imagined they still held their lands, viz., the tenure of the straw, but for which his successors ultimately succeeded in substituting a small money rent; from which it appears that the favourite tenure of the Manx had not been quite abrogated by the Norwegian conquest 350 years before, as has been alleged, and that their lands were originally allodial. Sir John commenced his measures of renovation by causing the breast laws and the forms of govern-

ment, established by custom and tradition, to be recorded in writing and embodied in the statutes, thus striking at the root of many of the difficulties inherent in a practice which interfered with the fixed and settled administration of justice. At this crisis Sir Henry Byron, his Lieutenant-Governor, taking the advice of the Deemsters, who were skilled in the traditional laws and forms of government, which existed before the days of King Orry, appealed directly to the people themselves, assembled them indiscriminately by sheadings, and obtained from them by a species of universal suffrage the names of thirty-six men as their representatives in the constitution; out of these he elected the Keys, establishing their number at twenty-four, (1432), and it has remained the same ever since, by following a similar mode of election. Thus he reassured the Manx with a confidence in their ancient usages and laws, and thus the Keys are unquestionably the acting and constitutional representatives of the people, originating in an assertion of popular rights till then unheard of in the dark ages from the time when the people of Rome elected their popular officers during the empire, or when the Carthagenian republic led the commerce and the colonization of Western Europe, or when the Ting or the Valhalla established an independent commonwealth in Iceland.

In ameliorating the hardships of the people, Sir John and his officers took steps to curb the abuses of the Church also, which in the time of protracted insubordination had assumed powers of various kinds incompatible with the civil authority of the country. That these reforms were the result of the desires of the Manx subjects there can be no doubt, and they display sentiments involving constitutional freedom very rare if not altogether unheard of at the time in these latitudes. The Manx people were at this time so unfortunate as not to be able to vindicate their attachment to their traditions by their own individual efforts, whilst at the same time they had become more than ever attached to them. It cannot be said that they were victorious in their struggles to preserve their original freedom and patriarchal

groups, one apart from the other a few paces. Both had been roofed over and railed in. One group consisted of three upright blocks of stone, on two of which I could discern no marks of a chisel; on the third I could detect, rudely carved in relief, the lower parts of a figure sitting cross-legged. The second group consists of a stone slab perpendicularly placed, much injured by violence or time, with a long legible inscription deeply cut in it, which turns out to be, I believe, of the oldest form of Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Hindoos. Close by it a stone slab, lying longitudinally, having imprinted two human footmarks of a woman's or youth's size. This I am told has a secret and mysterious meaning. Probably it commemorates the advent of some God upon earth, or his point of his departure from the earth. This put me in mind that in the outskirts of Rome there are foot prints in marble, of a large size, said to have been the spot where our Saviour stood when he appeared to Peter. The Javese were, I believe, originally Hindoos, or perhaps Buddhists, and the spread of Mahommedanism over the Island was not effected till about A.D. 1408, when Wnotis, a rebellious chief, partly persuaded and partly coerced the wild islanders to accept Mahomet for their prophet and himself for their monarch."—*Merreweather's Diary*, 1859.

DRUIDISM IN THE EAST.

The Rev. John Davies Merreweather, on occasion of his visiting an image of Buddha in Ceylon, says "I understand that Buddhism is a pure theism, the tenets of which Buddha propagated, who lived a thousand years before our Saviour. But yet idol worship is mixed with Buddhist worship. Others, again, say that Buddha is Adam, whose colossal footsteps on the Cingalese mountain Adam's Peak, both Hindoos and Buddhists worship. Others say that Buddhism was much modified by the teaching of early Christian apostles, and that the monastic institutions and hierarchy peculiar to the Buddhists took their rise from the followers of Christ. Some say that Buddhism, as a pure theism, is the primeval religion of the East, and that Hindoo mythology and idol worship are its corruptions, just as the mythology and idol worship of the Roman Catholics are corruptions of the pure Christian scheme."

CELTIC REMAINS IN INDIA.

An article in the current number of the *Quarterly Review*, under the title of "Stonehenge," has drawn the attention of the English public to the similarity, if not identity, of certain sepulchral and other remains existing in Great Britain and elsewhere in Western Europe—ordinarily classed as Druidical—with the structures to be found in various parts of the continent of India, to which a Buddhist origin is assigned. Without entering at length into the question of races or religions, or contesting the writer's theory of the non-Druidical source of the Western monuments, it may be of interest to your readers to have placed before them a somewhat extended series of observations connected with the subject, lately submitted to the Government of Madras by Mr. Fraser, the Civil

Engineer of the district of Coimbatore. I may note, as introductory to these extracts, and as confirmatory of the idea put forward in the *Quarterly Review*, that one of our most experienced Oriental antiquaries (Major Cunningham), so long ago as 1854, in his work on the Bhilsa Topes, commented on, and partially illustrated, the general identity and cognate design of the monuments of the East and the West. I am, &c., T.

Memorandum on the interesting Memorials of Antiquity in the Coimbatore District, by Wm. Fraser, C.E., dated the 21st of December, 1859. They consist of—I. Cromlechs; II. Sepulchral Tumuli; III. Pillar Stones; IV. Stone Circles. No one who is acquainted with Celtic antiquities can fail to be struck with the similarity between them and the ancient remains scattered over this district.

1. *Cromlechs.*—Some of the cromlechs I have seen in this district are similar to those found in Ireland: three or more stones placed upright, and over them a large flat stone placed so as to form a rude chamber. . . . These are formed with unhewn stone, and without any carving or inscriptions. In one respect these cromlechs differ from those in the British Islands. The latter are ruder in construction; the upright stones are often without any particular form, as if they were intended merely to support the top stone. The number of supports, too, varies greatly—sometimes only three, sometimes six,—and thus the chamber is variable and rude in form. The cromlechs in this district are, on the contrary, formed with carefully-selected, flat stones placed on edge, so as to form a chamber nearly square, and nearly completely enclosed. The covering stones have not so decided a slope as have those of the cromlechs of the British Isles. Of unmistakeable cromlechs, I *have seen* not more than six. Four of these are in the valleys of the Bawáni and Moyár Rivers; and two in the valley of the Noyel River, or the Bolamamuatti Valley,—one of the latter is close to the road from Coimbatore to Dambrapáleyam, and about five or six miles from Coimbatore. These two are remarkable for having, in a stone forming one side of the chamber, an oval shaped hole about ten or twelve inches in diameter. Major Hamilton, when he visited the higher ranges of the A'namalais, discovered a cromlech precisely similar to those in the Bolamamuatti Valley. It is on the east side of, and about 400 yards from, the Tora Kádavu River, about three or four miles south of Ponachi.

II. *Sepulchral Tumuli.*—These are found in every part of this district: in the cultivated plains—in the lands that have been irrigated for hundreds of years—around the base of the A'namalais—in the deep gorges at the foot of the Nílgiris—and in the now untrodden, unhealthy jungles in the valleys of the Bawáni and Moyár, I have found these sepulchral tumuli, with their kist vaens, cinerary urns and the other characteristics which distinguish the tumuli that are scattered over Northern and Western Europe. These tumuli are not generally found isolated or singly here and there,—in some places ten or twelve acres are covered with them; and these burial-places are so close to each other, that it is impossible

to resist the belief that the whole country must, at one time, have been thickly peopled. It is scarcely possible that these could be the results of the occasional visits of a nomadic race. By far the best specimens of these remains, that I have seen are in the valley of the Moyár. Generally, the tumuli are not much raised above the surface of the land; along the Moyár many of them are raised eight or nine feet, and each tumulus is surrounded by a stone circle. In some places there is one tumulus much larger than the rest, and surrounded by a larger circle of larger stones, flat or placed on edge, and standing about three feet above the ground. In every instance there is a large flat stone upon the top of the tumulus: in a very few cases have I seen two within one circle; and I presume that each covered a kist vaen, as was the case in all (perhaps 100) that I have seen open. Some of the covering stones contained 150 to 200 cubic feet. The kist vaens in these tumuli are precisely similar to those found in Europe—from four to five feet in length, and two to three in width,—thus evidently intended for the reception either of cinerary remains or of bodies in a sitting posture,—a mode of burial still observed by Lingadháris and others. The dimensions given above are those that generally prevail; but I have seen some much larger. There is a very large one in a rice field near Coimbatore, close to the new road to the railway station. They are all, so far as I have seen, placed east and west. I opened one of the tumuli in the valley of the Moyár; it contained the usual cinerary urns of baked clay, with portions of calcined and uncalcined human bones. I have been told that pieces of metal have been found in some, but I never saw any. . . The urns are of various shapes, and in size they vary from two to three feet to four or five inches in diameter,—some are rudely ornamented, usually by wavy parallel lines; but none that I have seen are in this respect equal to those in European collections.

III. *Pillar Stones.*—All these pillar stones are, however, comparatively modern; and have yet to exist for a few centuries before they become what is generally understood by the name: they are evidently of a date long posterior to that of the cromlechs and tumuli. I have, however, met with pillar stones which I consider coeval with those monuments of antiquity; rude, unhewn stones having an unmistakeable likeness to the leagans of Ireland, the hoar stones of Scotland, and the hoar stones of England. In a thick jungle in the valley of the Kódan-gíri, a tributary of the Bawáni, there are two or three of these stones at a place called Kutirai Palam; and there is a good specimen about nine or ten feet in height in the valley of the Bawáni, near the village of Súndapatti. In the valley of the Moyár, near a place called Mángádu, there are two.

IV *Stone Circles.*—These are found upon the Nílgiris; they are, in some respects, similar to the ancient stone circles of the British Islands. That is, both are circular—made of unhewn stones—and within both cinerary urns and bones are found. They differ, however, in many points: the Nílgiri circles are smaller, being rarely more than eight or ten feet in diameter; and the walls are complete all round, and are built up with several stones one over the other. The British

and Irish circles are much larger; the walls are composed of single stones; and, in Britain, avenues of stones generally connect the circles together. These are altogether wanting in the Nílgiri circles. . . . Upon the tops of most of the hills about Utakamund remains of stone circles may be seen; and I believe few of the high hills are without some specimens of these remains. I regret to say that there is little now to be seen of them except *remains*, as on the whole plateau there are probably not more than five left unopened. . . . Beyond what Harkness in his work on the Nílgiris (p. 32, *et seq.*) says, I am not aware what has been found in these circles. . . . Mr. Boswell, of the Madras C.S., I understand, opened a good many of them. . . . I am disposed to think that the sepulchral tumuli below, and the sepulchral circles upon the hills are the work of the same people.—*Athenæum, Sept.* 8, 1860.

The recent discovery of *Celts* on the Jubbulpore line of railway forms a most important additional link to the chronological chain which connects together the earlier races who peopled Hindostan with those of North-western Europe. The unlearned portion of our lady readers may perhaps require to be informed that the term "Celt" is applied to a stone-headed axe of very uniform and peculiar shape found amongst other Druidical remains all over the North of Europe. "Celts" are peculiarly prevalent in the Scottish, Irish, and Welsh Highlands, in the Island of Anglesea, and in the North of France and Channel Islands. We are not aware that they have ever, until now, been met with out of Europe.

Captain Kittoe, so far as we remember, was the first to call attention to the existence of Celtic remains in the East. In his journal of a journey through Orissa in 1838, he very well describes cairns, and cromlechs, and circles, and stone coffins, just as we meet with them in Wales. A paper by Captain (now Lieut.-Col.) Yule of the Bengal Engineers, published in 1844, gives a representation of a Druidical structure in Sylhet, where remains of the like kind abound, and so singularly resembling Stonehenge, that Johnstone has published in his *Physical Atlas* engravings of the two beside each other. Were the titles obliterated the one might be mistaken for the other. In 1847 papers were published by the Rev. Mr. Taylor and Capt. Cotgrave in the Madras *Literary Journal*, giving accounts of the same class of monuments abounding on the Neilgherry Hills and higher portions of Mysore. Similar remains are described by Capt. Newbold in Northern Arcot. It is to Major Meadows Taylor, political agent, Shorapore, that we are indebted for the largest contribution to our knowledge on this subject. He describes the remains as prevailing all along the Shahpore Hills, in the Nizam's dominion. Jiwargi abounds with cairns, underneath which are found stone coffins, mostly containing human bones. They are plentiful on the lands of Andola, and all around the Nizam's Hyderabad. Near Secunderabad some hundreds of cairns and cromlechs have been observed, and every two or three miles one or more of them may be met with. Dr. Carter found them in Southern Arabia. Mr. Jones describes them as existing in the vicinity of Bagdad; and they are occasionally met with in Northern Africa. We have no reason to doubt

that the Cyclopean structures abounding in Malta, and known by the name of Phœnician temples, differing only slightly as they do by some attempts at carving from the finest of our Druidical remains, are of the same type with the rest. Under the cairns in almost every case are massy stone coffins containing human bones, elegantly shaped irons, vases and pateræ of terra-cotta, often richly glazed and ornamented with a uniform zig-zag pattern. Along with these are bells spear bells, and irons, and other utensils of brass or of iron. The whole of the contents of the coffins, like the structures themselves and the remains above and around them, are so identical with those of Europe, that no doubt is entertained by any one of their being the handiwork of the same races of men. But in Europe we find the weapons of the aborigines to be of three descriptions, supposed to indicate ages and epochs of civilization of the race, belonging to the stone, to the bronze, and to the iron period. Of the first, India until now has furnished no examples—of the second, next to none. Iron weapons are much more plentiful in our sarcophagi than they are in those of Europe. The reason of this is plain. The transformation of iron ore into metallic iron is in most parts of Europe a tedious and troublesome process. It is first smelted into cast-iron, but this is so brittle as to be unfit for tools or weapons of war. A roundabout process requires to be resorted to, to burn out its superfluous carbon and render it malleable; a further process restoring the carbon, transforms it into steel. In India our beautiful ores are reducible without flux by charcoal, and at a very moderate temperature. The bloom comes from the furnace infusible but malleable at once, and is transferred to the anvil and fashioned into a tool, weapon or utensil before it has lost all the heat required to transform it from an ore to a metal. Bronze—or an alloy of tin and copper, often of very great hardness—thus never requires to be resorted to at all.

And this brings us back to the point at which we started—the celts found on the Jubbulpore Railway line. At the present juncture the term "celts," at one time familiar to the antiquarian ear alone, is in the mouth of every one, from the recent discoveries or supposed discovery of these and other traces of human industry under the glacial drift, a formation due to the action of icebergs and glaciers, at an age greatly antecedent to that assigned to the appearance of man upon earth, and when the greater part of Europe must have been under the sea. With this, however, we need not concern ourselves. The glacial drift nowhere approaches the tropics by many degrees, and it is referred to only as illustrating the familiarity of the form of weapon under consideration to those, to whom, until of late, it was unknown. Though uniform in material and in shape, the "celts" vary considerably in size. The average of their measure is six inches from heel to edge and three across the broadest part of the blade where they are seven and a half inches in girth. Their average weight is somewhat under a pound and a half. The superstition of the natives has saved the antiquary the chief trouble of collection. Perceiving, as the least observant must perceive, that the stone axe heads could not be natural productions, and unable to imagine

them capable of being turned to any account in industry or art, they at once assumed them to be supernatural, collected them, deified them, and worshipped them as they are found "under the shadow of every green tree." Need we greatly wonder? The English peasant still designates the flint arrow heads, assumed to be Celtic, as "elf-arrows"—shot by elves or fairies.

The publications of the Spalding Club give us representations of sculpture found in abundance in Scotland—of which next to nothing is known, excepting that they belong to the pre-historic period, tradition itself being silent regarding them. On many of these the cobra and the elephant are represented; on one of them, lions and apes are carved—affording another link of connection betwixt the races of the Eastern and Western worlds.

It is believed by the highest ethnological authorities that the aborigines of India are Northmen of the Scythian stem. They seem to have descended through the mountains into Hindostan in successive waves following each other at long intervals of time. The Hindoos again came from the Caucasian stock, from an opposite direction, and the feeble apathetic slave of oriental superstition draws his blood from the same source as his conqueror. But the same order of invasion of races seems to have obtained in Europe as in Hindostan. Successive inundations of Scythians, Picts, Huns, and Goths followed each other; the footprints of which are found marking their track in the West, equally marking it, and with the same impressions, in the East.—*The Friend of India, July 5*, 1860.

THE BALLAFLETCHER DRINKING GLASS.

This drinking cup,* now in the possession of Major Bacon, of Seafield House, upwards of two hundred years ago adorned the beaufet of Ballafletcher House. It was purchased at the sale of the effects of the last of the Fletchers, in 1778, by Robert Cæsar, Esq., who gave it to his niece for safe keeping, in consequence of an ancient tradition "that whosoever had the misfortune to break the glass would surely be haunted by the *Lhannan Shee* of Ballafletcher," (the peaceful spirit of Ballafletcher.) The cup is a crystal cyathus, engraved with floral scrolls, having between the designs, on two sides, upright columellæ of five pillars, and was a votive offering to the goddess for her protection or forbearance. The following is the legend:—In ancient times there stood in the parish of Braddan (of which the Bishop is legal vicar) a mansion called Kirkby. It was so named because it was the place of entertainment for the bishops of Sodor, in their progresses to and from the Isle. Of this building nothing now remains except its site, near an ancient encampment, and the picturesque churchyard of Braddan, with its numerous Runes and Runic crosses. More than two centuries ago, when Kirkby merged into the Fletcher family, its ancient name was changed, and the place took the designation of the new owner. To the first of this family was given the cup, with the injunction "that as long as he preserved it, peace and plenty would

* See *Plate* IX., *fig.* 3. This cup is uncommonly light and chaste in appearance and might pass for a specimen of the glass of ancient Sidon, once so famous.

follow; but woe to him who broke it, as he would surely be haunted by the *Lhannan Shee.*" The glass stood in a recess, and was never taken from its place or used except on Christmas and Easter days. It was then filled with wine, and quaffed off at a breath by the head of the house only, as a libation to the Spirit for her protection. The cup belonged, it is said, to Magnus, the Norwegian King of Man, who took it from the shrine of St. Olave, when he violated the saint's sanctuary.†

ANCIENT FORTALICE IN BRADDAN.

(From the Manx Sun.)

As the antiquities of the Celtic tribes to be found in the Isle of Man are one source of attraction to a numerous class of visitors, every additional information on the subject contributes to their entertainment. With this view I have much pleasure in pointing out, before the season commences, some extensive ruins of an ancient encampment which I have lately traced out on the farm of Ballafletcher, Braddan. I think a description of these ruins the more necessary because they have hitherto escaped the notice of antiquarians. They consist of the remains of a large ancient encampment, or extensive redoubt of earth and huge stones, in the immediate vicinity of the parish church, and are found to occupy several acres of ground, almost encompassing the burial yard. The most remarkable and most entire portion of this circumvallation is near the western gate of the church yard, on the opposite side of the road leading to Kirby, amongst the large old timber or wood growing there; but the mounds of earth and numerous huge stones scattered thickly about extend to the field west of the wood called the Chibber Niglus. Eastward it is bisected by the high road, but traces of its foundations are perceptible both outside and inside the church yard, and apparently into the Kirby grounds also. In this manner they must have occupied many acres, and make it appear that they had been of old a station of very considerable extent and importance. The western face of the strong wall forming the encampment in the wood, west of the church, measures about seventy paces in length, in a line slightly curved and irregular, from the southern and northern corner, where it turns eastward, and is about 14 feet in thickness. This part of the wall has never been disturbed, and trees of great size and age are

† Alcinous, king of Corcyra, addressing Ulysses, says—

"I give him also this, my golden cup,
Splendid, elaborate; that while he lives,
What time he pours libation forth to Jove,
And all the gods, he may remember me.
He ended, at whose words Areta bade
Her maidens with despatch, place o'er the fire
A *tripod* ample-wombed."
—*Odyssey of Homer*, by Wm. Cowper, book viii., line 527.

"And with a gorgeous cup, that to the gods
Libation pouring, ever while thou livest
From that same cup, thou may'st remember me."
—Southey's *Odyssey*, book iv., line 712.

growing upon it. Its outer face consists of large stones set close together on end backed with earth, and averaging about five feet in height, and surmounted by a parapet which protects a covered way inside, broad and well-formed and several feet higher than the inclosed platform inside the encampment. The very distinct preservation of this redoubt is very remarkable, considering its great antiquity. This is perhaps owing to the huge trees growing upon it, some of which, notwithstanding their size, seem to have been cut down and to have grown up again. Westward from this redoubt there are groups of huge stones, and also several rectangular foundations of great extent, one of the most distinctly formed of these consists of broad mounds, inclosing a space of 23 yards by 14 yards in breadth. Outside the wood and close to the boundary wall of the field called Chibber Niglus, there is a small group of large stones, the principal amongst which is a huge flat-shaped boulder, with a trough in its surface. On one side this stone measures 7 feet 4 inches in length, and on the other 5 feet 8 inches, or thereabouts. The trough scooped out on its flat surface may be nearly 2 feet 6 inches long by 18 inches wide. One might readily make the supposition here that this group of stones constituted an altar of the Druids, but all we shall imagine is that it forms part of the ruins of this ancient station of Braddan. In the same category may be placed a stone which may be seen on the road side near Ballaughton, a few hundred yards from the church, called the Saddle Stone. from its fancied resemblance to a pack saddle. The seat it forms is scooped out artificially, and tradition assigns to it the office of a penance stone in old times. Perhaps at some future time I may continue the research concerning this ancient stronghold, or I hope others may feel interested about it.

H. R. O.

Douglas, March 22, 1860.

ANTIQUITIES AT KIRK BRADDAN.

(From the Manx Sun.)

According to some traditions, a village is said to have once stood near the parish church of Braddan, and that it formed the original port of the creek and bay of Douglas—all vestiges of this town have disappeared from the memory of the oldest inhabitant of the parish; excepting the ancient encampment within the area of which the old church stands, and the indications of foundations of buildings in the uneven surface of the ground, all around. Several other indications, however, appear to countenance the tradition of this having been in primitive times a station of importance—such as the curious old Runic stones collected in the churchyard, the absence of all antiquities in the more modern town of Douglas, and the changes in the elevation and structure of the meadows which at this point form the floor of the valley of Braddan and of the rivers flowing through it near the head of the flat branching from the valley of Braddan. North-eastward stands the house of Port-e-Chee, or the Port of Peace. Even the Celtic name "Braddan," or Brathon, or Breton, gives plausibility to this idea of its once having

been the port resorted to by the primitive inhabitants of the opposite coast of Britain, and deriving its name therefrom. The natural advantages of its situation, on a river and estuary of the sea, little more than one mile inland, in a beautiful and fertile valley, must have rendered it an eligible site for a port of safety on a coast exposed to lawless attacks from the sea. No buildings exist here now except Kirby House and the necessary farm buildings. The site of the mansion-house of old Ballafletcher, near the encampment, is well-known, but presents nothing remarkable, except it may be interesting to some to state that the former proprietor of the estate left to his *locum tenens* and successor a crystal goblet, ornamented with a wreath etched on it, which he said had descended to him with the estate, as having been dedicated to the "Lhannan Shee of Ballafletcher," *i.e.*, the peaceful spirit of Ballafletcher. There is something very interesting in this goblet, now in the possession of Major Bacon, in connection with the Runic crosses and Runes in the churchyard, as well as with the debris of the unknown redoubt and the obscure-looking ruins of a fortified post, in all probability not less than 600 or 700 years old. The oldest date among the tombs in the churchyard is only 1663, but the record on the register goes farther back. I am well aware that in modern times many observers will look upon these humble remains of antiquity as unworthy of notice, or as totally inadequate evidence of Braddan having been in early ages a fortified station of importance. But I am convinced that a numerous class of antiquaries will become interested in the subject, and will readily listen to any reasonable disquisitions, which may be illustrative of the progress made in civilization and the arts since the immemorial origin of these ruins.

The first class of observers forget that the modern positions of high standing which they now occupy, have been attained to after many ages of painful endurance, and have been won and established by personal suffering and careful experience; whereas the latter class of men enter with ardour into researches regarding the existence of things that are past, not as grubbers after relics, decayed and forgotten, but as venerators of the origin of all permanent progress and as historians of the races of men who laid originally the foundation of the existing state of things, and of their slow advance among ages that are past. Therefore I shall venture to conclude that an inquiry into the origin and principle of civilization which is indicated by these ruins is not only highly intellectual but highly useful. The Rev. Mr. Cumming has already in a most able manner described the Runic crosses at Braddan in his elaborate work on the remains of antiquity found in the Isle of Man. I shall confine my remarks to the indications suggested by the remains of the ancient stronghold mentioned in my letter published in the *Manx Sun* of the 24th of March ult.

In 1098, just thirty-two years after the conquest of the Isle of Man by Godred Crovan,* or the white hand, Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, swept these seas like a torrent, subduing the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, and rendering Godred, King of Man, also tributary to him. He erected forts in many places for the defence of his conquests, and is said to have built a stronghold in the interior of

* Natives always say Cronan.

the Isle of Man, which he distinguished by giving it his own name, but which was never finished (Train, p. 82). I have long endeavoured to find out traces of this stronghold, and have given rather a lengthened notice of the encampment at Braddan, because I think there are some grounds for supposing that it may be the remains of the ancient fortification of Magnus. The numerous huge stones laying throughout the wood, unappropriated, and the want of traces of the wall and parapet on the south, which was necessary to complete the encampment, seem to indicate that it had not been finished, and that its founder had fallen short in completing his design. The large field in which the ruins are found takes its name from a spring of water called the Chibber Niglus, between which and the word Magnus there is a similitude, and it is no great stretch of the imagination to think that "Magnus" has, from the idiosyncrasy of the native pronunciation of foreign names and from the lapse of ages, become changed into Niglus, and that the remains of the wall and parapet are part of the stronghold constructed by Barefoot, but never finished.

It has been stated that, in olden times, the estuary of the creek which now forms the harbour of Douglas was navigable a considerable distance up the country, and that ships could be taken as high up as to anchor under a church inland. I have seen an authority to this effect but it escapes my recollection at present. An examination of the meadows forming the lower end of the valley of Braddan, leads to the conclusion that such was in all probability the case, for vessels of small size. I cannot remember my authority for this statement, and must leave the reader to examine the valley and judge for himself. In Speed's *Map* of the Isle of Man, published in 1595, Douglas is not laid down as a town, only the Nunnery on the creek, and the delineations of the same creek and scene, published by Grove in the same century are quite rural and represent a wide open creek reaching inland as far as Port-e-Chee claddagh. According to my own observation, the changes produced by the tidal wave on the sea boundary of the Isle of Man in alluvial districts, during the last fifty years, are sufficient to bring the above statement within the limits of probability. For example, the land at the Point of Ayr has become extended into the sea about 100 yards within the last sixty years by the tidal drift and deposit seaward. Whereas the tide in the bay of Ramsey, southward of the town, is making steady encroachments on the land. In a field, near Ballure, the large circular camp on the margin of the bay, I remember to have been an entire circle, whereas now more than one-half has been carried away by the sea advancing permanently on the gravelly cliffs on which it stands;—within the same period, on the Ballaugh shore, the sea has advanced upon the land and has carried off a quarterland near the estuary of the Ballaugh river, which is still on the lord's books and the rent paid by the owner of Ballakegg or Koeg; a spring of fresh water, and a tower, called Hacket's Tower, having entirely disappeared under the sea there,—and the valley of Braddan itself, all the way up to the mountain gorge, is becoming more and more elevated by the debris, brought down from the hills by the mountain streams, and by the

growth of turf land. It has been said that anchors have been found in the valley as you advance towards the town of Peel; and I have witnessed layers of shells turned up by the drainers in the meadow under Kirby House and Kirk Braddan, which must have been formed at a time when stagnant water was continuously there covering the land, at some early period. Upwards of fifty acres of the Port-e-Chee claddagh and the adjacent meadows are formed of gravelly debris, drifted from the elevated lands of the interior, meeting the silt thrown up by the tidal wave at the estuary of the river Douglas. The name Claddagh or Clattagh, now given to this meadow signifies a marsh, but it is now filled up so as to be a spacious flat, containing fifty acres of land. Therefore, it is quite within the limits of belief and probability that the river was in early times much lower and deeper than at present, admitting the tide much higher up, so as to bear small craft up to Braddan Church; and it is highly probable that at a period, 768 years ago, when Magnus Barefoot conquered Godred Crovan, Braddan may have been not only an eligible seaport but a well-chosen site for a stronghold for holding possession of his conquest. H. R. O.

Douglas, April 10, 1860.

INDIAN TRIQUETRA.

At pages 170 and 171 of Moore's *Lost Tribes*, printed for Longmans, 1861, an inscription in hieroglyphic character, found on the gateway of a Buddhist temple, twenty miles north-east of Bhupal, is published, of which Major Cunningham says, "*I cannot even make a guess at it's meaning.*" The third hieroglyphic from the left is a triquetra, very similar to the *trie cassyn*. Mr. Moore himself continues and says, "If, however, it be transliterated into modern Hebrew characters its meaning becomes evident, thus,—

> "O Sak, my glory! thine image
> Shall be for a festival, a mountain of light
> For those who 'come from afar, (*the triquetra*) from Machath."

We have already stated that the *trie cassyn* is the emblem of expedition; here we have it to signify "from afar"—a very curious coincidence to say the least of it.

ARTHUR.

Many consider King Arthur the Pendragon of Britain as a fabulous character. Even Nennius (850) refers to his history as a "*traditio veterum.*" Lord Bacon thinks "there was truth enough in his story to make it famous, besides that which was fabulous." According to the Mort D'Arthure, published by J. Russell, 1859, Uther was the father of King Arthur, his mother being Igraine, widow of a king of Cornwall.

PAGANISM AND DRUIDISM.

Subsequent to the downfall of the Roman empire, the Druids are scarcely mentioned in history. There cannot be a doubt, however, that the laws and

customs which they originated continued to prevail for centuries after their name had ceased to be a living one, for their principles of government were indigenous to the natural mind of man. They are not mentioned in the *Chronicon Manniæ*, or in the great Saxon chronicle, although there cannot be a doubt they were well known or remembered at the time these were written, unless we suppose they were the men of influence which are often noticed, the princes of the power of the air, who continue to be the men of influence of modern times, acting under different designations, and let us hope under different spiritual influences. One cannot but see a palpable resemblance in language, religious ceremonies, traditions, and remains of antiquities among the Celtic and Teutonic nations of Western Europe and those that were dominant in Asia and Africa in Pagan ages. Doubtless this resemblance is in no small degree deducible from the knowledge of the Bible amongst the majority of them, but there are similarities in language, in legends, and existing remains of antiquity which cannot be referable to the use of the Holy Scriptures in common, many of which we have remarked already. Even many of the Pagan names of men, and things, and places appear to be referable to this affinity between our ancient and modern history. Thus in the Manx language we have *cartage*, a gadder, or wanderer from domestic callings; Africa, the name of the Manx princess, Erargadia, or Arcadia; and Hannay, Hammond, Hamilton, Sack, and Bell, from the Carthaginian roots and proper names of Hanno, Hamon, Hamilcar, and Belos or Baal. The famous scholar Scaliger and others have been able to read the primitive language of Phœnician records from its similarity to the Hebrew, or that which was spoken in the land of Israel, and in *An Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language*, published at Dublin in 1772, the affinity of the language spoken in the southern parts of Ireland (the Bearle feni) to the ancient Punic is pointed out and exemplified by contrasting the speech of Hanno in Plantus with the Irish; and an ethnological affinity between the Phœnicians and the nations of the East with the Druids and Britons, is corroborated by the similarity of the remains of their ancient temples erect monumental stones, and legends concerning giants and mountains, groves and rivers, the foot prints of inspired personages and the popular allusions to the Pagan god Bel, Jupiter, Hammon, and other Punic mythologies. Virgil, in his *Æneid*, describing Carthage, says,—

"Lucus in urbe fuit media lætissimus umbra,"

"There was a grove of joyful shade in the middle of the city."

In this Island, on a hill, near Rock Mount, German a giant's grave is still pointed out, and also another on the Island of Peel Castle, outside the battlement walls on the north, but which has been partly carried away by the sea.

Dr. N. Davis, in his recent work entitled *Carthage and her Remains* (1861), at page 175, gives a ground plan of the Temple of Baal Hammon, the *sun* Baal of the Carthagenians. These foundations constitute a circle, filled up with forty-eight pilasters, arranged in four circles, each made up of twelve pilasters, divided by four circular galleries, and entered by twelve vestibules, which lead direct to

the centre, thus forming a grove of forty-eight pilasters, covering a space 200 feet in diameter, the inner circle being twenty-nine feet. Here Dr. Davis found, by digging, "a thick layer of burnt earth, mixed with bones, and here he is satisfied stood the brazen image of the terrible Baal, whom Diodorus Siculus describes as having had outstretched arms inclined to the earth, so that the child that was placed on them rolled down and fell into a pit below, filled with fire."

Dr. Davis is of opinion that this Temple of Baal was covered in by a dome, and I am inclined to think that some of the circles of stone in the Isle of Man have been roofed in, the walls of the circle being filled up with sods between the stones, the remains of the sod wall are still visible at the circle of the Karn Orry (*Plate* ix., *fig.* 1), and that they may have thus been dwellings of an extinct race, shaped like the round huts of the African negroes and the wigwams of the Indian tribes.

Hercules, as well as Baal, was worshipped. He was the tutelary deity of Tyre, the inhabitants of which had no rivals in commerce or in war, anterior to the Roman empire. They had many petty kings, to whom they allowed the sovereign dignity, reserving to themselves the natural rights of mankind.

Tully says, "There were many Hercules, but the famous actions of them all were ascribed to him who was the supposed son of Jupiter." At Colchester, Dr. Todd discovered an altar dedicated to "Herculi Tyrio Divina Domus," about one hundred years ago.

Through Phœnicia, and Carthage, and the Mediterranean Sea, we may trace an intercourse between the British Islands and the Troad, the ruins of Tarshish, the Trojan Eneas, the Phrygian cities of the descendants of Japhet, and also recognise the great probability of an affinity between the classic Tripos, the *Manx Trie cassyn*, and the Mocassin of the Indians, as well as between those emblematic feet of brass, iron, and clay, by which the prophets of Israel personified and illustrated the history of future nations.

These are a few antiquarian facts out of many, corroborative of ancient Grecian and Roman history and Celtic traditions, which state that the merchants of Tyre and Sidon traded with the British Isles by way of Gibraltar and Cape Finisterre, colonizing Ireland and the Ebudæ, as well as many parts of the main Island of Britain,—Brittany in France, Spain, and other parts of Europe, and also in Asia and Africa. These facts are also suggestive that the language and the religion of numerous tribes of the pre-historic Pagans of the east and the west, if not identical, had, at least a strong affinity to each other. We find traces of the Punic people on the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, and wherever they could reach with their ships. We also find a striking resemblance between the religious civilization of the Punic people and the Druids of Britain and Gaul, which was destroyed or subdued, both at Carthage and Anglesea, by the Roman power, and driven in the latter case into the inaccessible parts of Caledonia, the Ebudæ, and Hibernia. It is among these tribes we have found traces of the *Trie cassyn* and the Tripod, from the Herculean era and the halcyon days of ancient Etruria to the modern of Sicily and the Isle of Man.

BARROWS, KEEILS, AND KIST VAENS OF THE ISLE OF MAN

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Wm. Gill, Vicar of Malew.

"The chapel is at the distance of three miles N.E. from the Parish Church of Malew, on the estate of Ballakilley or Ballacheilley, (so called from this *keeil* or church existing on it.) The chapel is about thirty yards from the mansion house, constructed of very rude materials, slate-stone and undressed granite boulders, put together with mud mortar. Its dimensions inside are 21 feet in length, by 9 feet in breadth; height of the side walls, 8 feet; thickness of the walls, 2 feet 10 inches. The west gable is standing, but shows no appearance of having borne a bell-turret. The east is fallen to the ground. The doorway is on the south side near the east end, 6 feet high by 2 feet 10 inches wide. There is one square-headed window on the north, opposite the door; another on the south near the west end. This latter window is 2 feet 6 inches high, by 1 foot 6 inches wide at the outside, splaying to 2 feet 6 inches at the inside. The appearances of a grave ground are all obliterated. When I first visited the spot, thirty-two years ago, there were numerous flag stones protruding from the ground here and there, to the distance of 80 yards or more from the chapel, on the west. A rich crop of turnips now covers the ground. I can learn nothing of the date of the building, but it is evidently of great antiquity. There is an interesting account of another ruined church in this parish, at St. Michael's Isle, in Mr. Cumming's *History of the Isle of Man*, pp. 91—94.

Names of some of the ruins of the Treen Chapels and Cairns, generally called old Keeils, viz.:—Cronk Keeil Lhane or Cronk y Lhane, near Peel; Crosh va Lhane, Patrick; Keeil Pharrick, near Culby; Keeil Pharrick a Drumma, Kirk Michael; Karn Vaal, Kirk Michael; Keeil Vaal, Balladoole, Malew; Keeil Colomb, Jurby; Cabbal Katrina, Rushen; Cabbal Druag, Lezayre; Cabbal Vaal, Maughold Barony; Keeil Woirrey, Patrick; Keeil ny Lhaune, Patrick; St. Mary's or Keeil Woirrey, at Kerroo Dhoo, Patrick; Karn Orry, Cronk Moar, Keeil Albin or Keeil Abbon, Cabbal Nickolus, and Keeil Veen, Laxey Glen. There is also one in Amagarry, at the southern base of Snafeld. Many other examples of the chapel, the kist vaen, and barrow might be given, but these will suffice. Some of the fields in which these ruins are found are called the Chapel Field, and the ruins are generally known as the "Old Chapel."—Ed.

There are aged people still living, in Lonan, who remember the time when some of the country people in that parish sometimes buried their dead without coffins at all. The corpse, wrapped in a winding sheet, was laid upon the bier, covered with a pall spread upon a kind of cradle, and in this manner borne to the grave.

Keillagh, in the Manx language signifies a Church; hence the modern word Kirk. *Kiel* means concealed, unknown; hence Keeill, the name of these ruins, I suppose. The Manx also say *Kayll*, a wood, a grove, and *Kayllagh*, a dryad or wood-nymph, or a fabulous deformed old woman.

EXCAVATION OF BARROWS AT TYNWALD HILL.

For the following interesting account of a large *kist vaen*, found near Tynwald I am indebted to Frank Matthews, Esq., of Glen Moar:—"About twelve years since the workmen engaged in widening the Follagh-y-Vannin road, leading past the Tynwald Mount to Glen Moar, cut through a portion of an old cronk which lay in the way of the proposed alterations. During their excavations they came upon a large kist, about four feet square, formed of slabs of stone several inches in thickness, the floor of which was paved with white shingle stones, and the whole closed in by a large irregular cubical-shaped coverlid. Nothing was found within the chamber except a quantity of some material resembling cut tobacco. Above the coverlid and embedded in the superincumbent earth was an arch formed of the same white shingle stones used in paving the floor of the kist. The greater portion of this earth fell to pieces when the kist was opened, but sufficient remains to show the formation of the whole. The kist is still perfect, as none of its walls were disturbed, there being sufficient space between the angles to examine the interior." Mr. Matthews has carefully preserved the whole, so as to readily admit of its re-examination at any future period. A little further on, towards Peel, the same gentleman opened another kist much smaller in size. In it was found a battle-axe, stirrup, and a handful of beads of various colours, shapes, and sizes. These relics were placed by the late Professor E. Forbes in Jermyn-street Geological Museum, London, where they now are. In the same locality several other kists have been opened, containing chiefly cinerary urns.

PRIMITIVE CONSTITUTIONS.

Supposing we take the aborigines of New Holland as an example of a primitive race of men of the most simple kind in Nature. In *The Diary of a Working Clergyman*, kept by the Rev. John Davies Mereweather, published by Hatchard in 1859, it is stated that the natives are divided into small tribes or clans, to each of which tradition has appropriated a certain district, which is never over passed with impunity, except by a friendly tribe. Each clan has a nominal chief, who is expected to lead them in their fights, but he, with the rest, is subject to a senate, which is composed of old men, who, in their turn, can only act on the usages established among them from time immemorial.

TINGVALLA.

According to Lord Dufferin, writing on the spot, the Tingvalla in Iceland stands about 35 or 40 miles from the seaport of Reykjavik, towards the Geyser Springs, in a vast plain, near the hills, of about 50 square miles in extent, clothed with brushwood. This vast verdant district is separated from the hills and the adjacent plateau by two immense chasms or rents in the rocks, running parallel, at eight miles distant from each other. These present cliffs about 100 feet high and form the lateral boundaries of the valley of Tingvalla. One of them is the bed of a river, and at the lower end of the valley there is a noble lake many miles in length. "The accompanying ground plan (of the Hill of Laws) will, I trust,

complete what is wanting to fill up the picture I long so to conjure up before your mind's eye. Coming suddenly in view of this scene, and gazing down from the edge of the cliff, I could scarcely speak for pleasure and surprise. Independently of its natural curiosities, Tingvalla was most intersting to me on account of the historical associations connected with it. Here long ago, at a period when feudal despotism was the only government known throughout Europe, free parliaments used to sit in peace, and regulate the affairs of the young republic, and to this hour the precincts of its Commons' House of Parliament are as distinct and unchanged as on the day when the high-hearted fathers of emigration first consecrated them to the service of a free nation. On the vast plain, towards the side bounded by the chasm containing the river, an oval plain, 200 feet by 50, is surrounded by a smaller crevice or chasm, so deep and broad as to be utterly impassable with safety. At one extremity alone a scanty causeway connected it with the adjoining plain and allowed of free access to its interior. This spot, then, erected by nature almost into a fortress, the founders of the Icelandic constitution chose for the meetings of their Thing or Parliament, (from *thing*, to speak.) Armed guards defended the entrance, while the grave Vonders deliberated in security within. To this day, at the upper end of the place of meeting, may be seen the three hillocks where sat in state the chief judges of the land, and also the Hill of Laws. But these old grand times have long since passed away."

"For three hundred years the gallant little republic maintained its independence,—three hundred years of unequalled literary and political vigour. In 1261 the Iceland crown became an appanage to the Norwegian government. On the amalgamation of the three Scandinavian monarchies, at the union of Calmar, the allegiance of the people of Iceland was passively transferred to the Danish crown." —*Letters from High Latitudes*, 1858.

According to the History of Iceland in the *Encyclopedia Brittanica*, "An English colony is stated to have settled in Iceland in the beginning of the fifth century, Ingolfr and his friend Leifr undertook a voyage to Iceland in 874. They spent the winter in the Island, and determined to settle there for the future. Ingolfr returned to Norway to provide what might be necessary for a colony, and Leifr went in the meantime to assist in the war in England. After an interval of four years, they again met in Iceland; the one bringing back with him a considerable number of people,—the other, Leifr, imported his acquired treasures. After this many people settled there, and in the space of 60 years the whole Island was inhabited. Besides the Norwegians, new colonies arrived from different nations, between whom wars soon commenced, and the Island histories are full of accounts of their battles. To prevent these conflicts a kind of chief was chosen in 928, upon whom great powers were conferred. This man was the speaker in all their deliberations, pronounced sentence in difficult and intricate cases, decided all disputes, and published new laws after they had been received and approved of by the people at large, but he had no power to make laws without

the consent of the rest. He therefore assembled the chiefs, whenever the circumstances seemed to require it, and after they had deliberated among themselves, he represented the opinion of the majority to the people, whose assent was necessary before it could be considered as a law. His authority among the chiefs and leaders, however, was inconsiderable, as he was chosen by them, and retained his place no longer than while he preserved their confidence."

Three statements are very curious in the above extract:—1st, The settlement in Iceland, in the fifth century, by a colony from Britain; 2nd, The colonization of it by the chiefs Ingolfr and Leifr with plunder from England; and 3rd, The similarity of the constitution chosen for the government of the Icelandic republic in the ninth century to that which has descended from pre-historic times and is still in existence in the Isle of Man, is very striking. Iceland, it would appear from the history of it quoted, was a much younger country than Man, and the question arises, Did their chiefs carry the form of government they adopted from Britain, or did the Manx borrow theirs either from Iceland or Scandinavia? It is remarkable that the name of Lear is that of three aboriginal chiefs, in Britain, Man, and Iceland, which countenances an identity amongst them of some kind. First there is Lear, the son of Bladud, the Pendragon or King of Britain, Anno Mundi 3160, and tragedized by Shakspere; secondly, there is Ler or Lear, the first who held Man, and was satisfied to grant the lands on the tenure of the straw; and thirdly, Leifr, one of the first colonists and chiefs of Iceland; all of which have an etymological affinity to the Manx word *Leaghir*, a kind of rushes, and *Leash*, any three animals tied or bound together by a thong, &c.—ED.

CRONK-Y-LHAANE OR CRONK-NY-KEEILL LHAANE.

On the 2nd of November, 1860, accompanied by Dr. Oliver and Mr. Harrison, of Rock Mount, I visited this cemetery (so often alluded to in the foregoing pages,) and opened two of the kist vaens with a view of ascertaining their construction, in a particular manner. It is situated on the Kirk Michael Road, about half-way between Rock Mount and Peel; the road is cut through the cemetery eastward of the small keeill or barrow, which forms its middle, and all around for many yards the ground has been found to contain stone graves so near the surface that the plough reaches them. It looks like the cemetery of a large population which has become extinct, were it not in the neighbourhood of Peel, and of the glebe land of the Parish of German, and several other keeills and barrows in the neighbourhood. The barrow-looking keeill is a prominent object, and occupies a remarkable position on a low sandy spur or ridge of cultivated land which abuts into a small lake or mere on the west; at one time there were foundations of stone walls on it, which have been removed. On the swell of this ridge graves exist for upwards of fifty yards all around the barrow. When the road was formed, some cartloads of human bones were exhumed, and again buried in the hollows at the foot of

the ridge. We discovered that a carved stone of a flat shape had once occupied a place here, but had been buried in an adjoining field, from superstitious motives, within a few years. We could not learn that runes were inscribed on this stone, nor could we ascertain the forms represented by the carving, although we made particular enquiry of many who had seen it. All the graves, without an exception, were arranged parallel to each other, from E.S.E. to W.N.W. or thereabouts, and were of various sizes.

Some flat stones of the kist vaens, which projected from the earthy bank, indicated two graves which we selected for examination. They were quite contiguous to the eastern base of the barrow, and near each other. We found the first to be imperfect, having been broken into (some of the flat stones displaced) and filled again with a mixture of surface vegetable mould amongst which some portions of the jaw-bones of the human head and other parts of the decayed skeleton were mixed. On exhuming the second grave we found it quite entire about eighteen inches below the surface. The lid was formed by five thick slaty rag stones flatly laid, in a slating manner, from the foot to the head of the stone chest. These having been removed, a stone chest, regularly formed with flags of red sand stone, from the Crag Mallin, in Peel Bay, was found, six feet two inches long, two feet wide at the head, more narrow at the foot, and about one foot deep, and it was almost quite filled up with very fine sand, which had percolated through the slating that covered it. On carefully removing the envelope of sand, the remains of three human bodies were discovered, two of the skeletons being in a wonderful state of preservation,—every bone was firm and entire, excepting its cartilaginous portions, and the teeth were complete in number and as perfect as the day they were buried. The first and tallest skeleton reposed in a natural manner on its back, but slightly turned to the left; the lower extremities slightly bent at the knees; and the mouth quite open, the lower jaw-bone having dropped on the neck, and the mouth, of course, quite filled with fine sand. In this position it measured about four feet ten inches in length. The second skeleton was much shorter, and lay with the back upwards, on the left arm, shoulder, and neck, with its face underneath as it were the left ear of the first skeleton, and having one foot over its pelvis, as if it had been a child nursed; but though so short in stature, its mouth was quite full of perfect teeth, and the sutures of the cranium were completed—those named the sagittal and parietal sutures having become ossified,—which was sufficient evidence of its having long passed the adult age; and to our view it must have been a dwarf or pigmy. On carefully examining the cranium we discovered grey or white hairs in the surface. We also discovered a fracture on the head of the smaller skeleton an inch and a half long, at the anterior part of the left parietal bone, evidently caused by a cutting weapon, the force of which had also depressed the edges of the cut, shewing that the fracture did not take place from the natural decay of the bone since interment. From all these circumstances it is most probable that this dwarf suffered from violence antecedently to its death and interment. It is worth

recording that the cerebral organ of philo-progenitiveness of the first skeleton was most uncommonly large. The wounded skull is now in the Museum of the Manx Society. The remains of a third skeleton were discovered underneath the head of the first. The bones of it found there were so much disintegrated that we could only distinguish them to be the bones of the skull of a much larger person than the other two, which had been interred at some subsequent period.

The inhabitants of this district of the Island understand the word *Aisn* or *Aes* to signify a bell, a little or brass bell; but nothing is known in their traditions of this interesting cemetery itself or the people who formed it. Several barrows and cairns in the immediate neighbourhood have been examined by various persons.

THE SUPPOSED TRUE CHRONICLE OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

Copied out of the Original Manuscript.

Mananan MacLer, the first man that had Mann, or ever was ruler of Mann: and the land was named after him, and he reigned many years, and was a Paynim, and kept by necromancy the land of Man under mists, and if he dreaded any enemies he would make of one man to seem a hundred by his art magick; and he never had any farm of the commons, but each man to bring a certain quantity of green rushes, on Mid-summer Eve, some to a place called Warfield, and some to a place called Man, and yet is so called.

And long after St. Patrick disturbed him the said Mananan, and put in Christian folks into the said land, and left a Bishop to govern all, and to keep it, and so from Bishop to Bishop they did keep it for many years. And then there came a son of the King of Denmark and conquered the land, and was the first that was called King Orry, and after him remained twelve of the stock that were called King Orrees; insomuch that the last-named Reginald had no son, but one daughter named Mary, to whom the right descended, which Mary was Queen of Man and Countess of Stragherne, who taking with her all her charters and deeds of the Land of Mann, fled to the King of England, Edward the First, in the 20th year of his reign, being in St. John's Town in Scotland, otherwise called Perth, Anno Domino 1292. For Alexander, King of Scots, arrived at Raynoldsway, and took possession of the Land of Mann, against whom the said Mary did complain before the King of England. In the 33rd year of the King's reign, at the Parliament at Westminster, a request was exhibited by John Waldebyff, claiming the Isle of Man with the Island adjoining, in right of his wife, and answer was made then that they should claim it before the King of the Scots, who as then held the same Isle. Thus she dying during the suit, the right descended to William her son, and from the said Wm. to John his son and heir. In King Edward the Second his time he gave a term of Mann to Pierce Gaveston, a Frenchman. The Earldom of Cornewall and the Lordship of Mann, Anno Domini, 1307. He being principal Secretary of State and Lord Chamberlain of England. Edward Bruch, the King of Scots' brother conquered the Island Anno Domini 1308. Robert Bruch gave the said Island unto Randle, Earl of Moray and of Mann, being Lieu-

tenant-General 1308. In the eighth year of Edward the Third, William Montague, Earl of Salisbury, conquered the Isle of Mann out of the hands of the Scots, which Isle the King gave unto the said Earl, and caused him to be crowned and entitled King of Mann, 1334. In the seventeenth year of King Richard the Second, Wm. Scroope was made vice chamberlain, who about the same time bought of the Lord Montague his son named Montague, the Isle of Man with the Royalties thereof, for it is a kingdom as Wm. Walsingham affirmeth, 1394. In the 22nd year of the reign of King Richard the Second, William Scroope, Earl of Wiltshire and Treasurer of England and Lord of Mann was found guilty of treason for misgoverning the king and the realm, and he with others were bound prisoners and brought forth into the camp before Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and had their heads smitten off, Anno Domini, 1398. At the coronation of King Henry the Fourth the king gave the said Isle unto Henry Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, and to his heirs, Anno Domini 1402. He was impeached for rising against the king, Anno Domini 1403, the Earl was restored to his former dignity, lands, and goods, the Isle of Mann only excepted, and presently was deprived thereof by authority of Parliament. Who being afterwards slain in the Battle of Shrewsbury, the said king gave the said Isle of Mann unto Sir John Stanley knight, Lieutenant of Ireland and Treasurer of his Household, 1403, who left the same to Sir John Stanley his son, father to Sir Henry Stanley, knight of the Garter, Lieutenant of Ireland and Lord Chamberlain to King Henry the Sixth, who created him Lord Stanley and of Mann, after created Earl of Derby by King Henry the Seventh, and made Constable of England and Knight of the Garter, who had issue George, Lord Stanley, who, in right of his wife, was also Lord Strange of Knockin, and died his father yet living, but left his son who was called Thomas, who was Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, Strange, and Mann, who had issue Edward, Earle of Derby, Lord Stanley, Strange, and Man, father to Henry, Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, Strange, and Mann, father to Ferdinand, Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, Strange, and Man; brother to William, Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, Strange, and Mann; father to James, Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, Strange, and Mann; father to Charles, Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, Strange, and Mann; father to William, Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, Strange, and Mann, who died at Chester 1702, and was succeeded by his brother James, Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, Strange, and Man.

In the frontispiece of the Statute Book of this Isle, it is set down in a brief chronicle how the same hath been always governed and how successfully under that most Honourable and Noble Family the House of Derby, who was invested with and exercised *Jus Regale* therein [too tedious to be here enlarged upon] that certain Barons held respectively baronies and temporalities of them, as namely, 1st, the Bishop of Mann; 2nd, the Abbot of Rushin; 3rd, the Priors of Douglas; 4th, the Priors of Whithorne, in Galloway; 5th, the Abbot of Furnace; 6th, the Abbot of Bangor; 7th, the Abbot of Saball; and 8th, the Prior of St. Bead, in Copeland, all which baronies were in respect of their holdings to yield and do

faith and fealty unto the Lord of the Island, at and upon a general assembly of the whole Island called and stiled the Tinwald Court, in their own proper persons; and if any of the said barons were out of the land, they were obliged by a penal law to come into the Island within forty days after they were called in to do their homage, and show how they held and claimed their said holdings under him [wind and weather serving], otherwise they or any of them so failing were to seize their temporalities into his honor's hands.

These Barons thus holding temporalities under the Lord, held in their due time and place their own proper courts, of the nature of court leet or baron's courts, in their own jurisdiction, tryable for life and limb, boons and services, in which the steward or seneschal of the said lands and tenements was to sit as chief judge, the Deemster (and sometimes both Deemsters) with the Comptroller, assisting him. The Lord's Attorney being present. These courts were capable of trying felony within their own bounds, and could even claim a felon, who was a tenant, out of the Lord's court, and challenge him from thence, and have his trial and confiscation in the abbey court, if he had never served or paid rent to the Lord. But they could not retain or countenance a felon within the liberties against the Lord, under a penalty of a fine or a forfeiture of their temporality as the case may be. No Baron can harbour a stranger against the Lord. No Baron can carry any sum of money above £8 out of this land, unless in the produce of the land, and their tenants are liable to fine for all trespasses against the Lord or in his forest. No officer of the Lord's to serve the Barons; and no Baron to take inquest of the Lord's tenants, unless they also pay the Baron's rent, &c.

No merchant can carry money out of the Isle without special license from the Lord's Governor or Deputy; and to pay for every pound he taketh out of the Island in silver 2d. ob.

ORRY AND ARTHUR.

Dr. Owen Price considers King Arthur altogether mythological, and to be identical with Arthur's Wain or the Ursa Major. He seems to have had a similitude to Hercules and his knights imitators of the Heraclidæ; and it is not improbable that King Arthur's Round Table had a reference to the Druidical circle which was constructed for the mystical rites of Bel—the sun god, whom the mythological Arthur is said to represent. At any rate it is imagined that his Knights of the Round Table were latterly considered Christian knights, in search of the *San Graal*, which is a name understood by some to signify the vessel from which Christ drank at the last supper; but in the Welch Legends a wondrous bowl is mentioned, which Welch antiquaries consider a Druidical symbol, and for which no claim is made to Christian origin.

Mr. Peter Roberts, in the *Collect. Camb.*, vol. i., p. 309, suggests that it was the Divining Cup of the Druids.

Some think that our Manx King Orry is equally mythological with the British

King Arthur, but that the breast laws of illiterate ages have handed him down to later dates here than in Britain, so as to be recognised, owing to various preservative causes already sufficiently dwelt upon.

OLD REGULATIONS AT CASTLE RUSHEN AND THE PEEL.

All the ancient orders, customes, and duties to be performed in the said Castles are extant in the rowles, and enrolled in the bookes of the statutes of this Isle, and these which we doe add hereafter are and have beene customarie and usuall.

First, At the entrance and admittance of any souldier to either of either of the said Castles, the ordinarie oath was to this purpose:

First, Our allegiance to our soveraigne, next our faith, fedilitie, and service to the right honoble Earles of Derbie and their heires, our duties and our obedience to our lieutenant or cheefe governour and our constable in all lawful causes, and noe further.

Item. It hath been accustomed and still continued, that every souldier at the sound of the drume, or ringinge of the alarums bell (the heareing or knowinge of the same) shall forthwith make his prent appearance in the gate of either Castle, then and there to pforme what shall be enjoyned one them by the lieutnnt, or the constable in his absence.

Item. It hath been accustomed that night bell should be runge a little after the sun settinge, and that by the porter, and the constable and his deputie with a sufficient guard to be in the Castle, for the saufe keepinge and defence of the same.

Item. It hath been accustomed and continued, that the constable or his deputie should goe with the wardens to the Castle gates, and there cause the porter to locke the Castle gates, and then the watch to be fourthwith set.

Item. It hath been accustomed, that at either Castle there hath beene two standinge porters, who have by course every other weeke held the staff, and given attendance at the gate duringe one whole yeare, begininge at Michallmas; the said porters to be nominated by the constable, and then allowed by the lieutnnt and governour, and two standinge watchmen in like manner for the nightlie watchinge upon the walls; and every officer, souldier, and servant, is to doe his pettie watch from May to Michallmas.

Item. It hath been accustomed, that the Castle gates should not be opened by any man after lockeinge at night (the governour onelie excepted) untill the watchman ringe the day bell, which was to be done so soone as the watchman could pfectli discover the land markes bounded within a mile and a halfe of either Castle; which beinge done, the porter was accustomed to goe about the walles, and looke that all things be cleere, and forthwith to returne to the constable or his deputie, and affirm all things to be as the watchman had formerlie spoken to the constable or his deputie.—*S. Hooper*, 1775.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS DESCRIPTIVE OF SOME ANTIQUITIES RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT MAUGHOLD CHURCH, 1860.

"In accordance with an Act of Vestry, that church has been well repaired, as far as regards the exterior of the building. About a third part of the wall was taken down and rebuilt, on which there has been placed an excellent roof.

"During the dismantling of that ancient building, said by some to be nearly 900 years old, a variety of curious things were observable. Two stones forming steps to the gallery were found to be old crosses, laid with their faces downward: one was about five feet in length by nineteen inches broad, on which the artist's chissel had cut a cross and two monks at its base, each sitting in an arm chair opposite to each other. The other stone, which was not quite so large, had the representation of a cross alone.

"In two places in the wall there were two small windows, or more probably doors, in the Gothic form, above eighteen inches long by nine inches wide, very much, I should think, like the confessional. That this church and village in which it stands were at one time of considerable importance is evident from several circumstances which yet appear. In the church wall, about three or four feet from the foundation, were found loop holes, such as may be supposed necessary for protection and for the annoyance of an enemy, and in corroboration of the church having been a garrison as well as a temple, there may be seen still the remains of a deep trench round the inside of half the church yard, and the foundations of several erections on different parts of the grave yard are still visible.*

"There was also found in the wall a piece of hollow silver, that may have been once in the head of a walking stick, but of little value.

"There were also some glass beads found when clearing away for rebuilding the walls, which furnish us with a clue to the origin of those found in the barrows as well as in the kist vaens.

"Let me also tell you that I have recorded upon parchment a great variety of insular facts relative to the present ecclesiastical and civil position of the Island, which I put into a bottle, corked and sealed, and embedded it in the wall, which will probably be found some 150 or 200 years hence and be considered a curious relic."

"A very important discussion was entered upon at a meeting of the Manx Society, Nov., 1860, relative to the desirability of forming an archæological branch, in order to preserve the numerous Scandinavian relics with which the Island abounds. As this question is a very comprehensive one, involving considerable outlay, it was left for the consideration of the annual meeting. We should ourselves be glad to see such a section formed, as we are satisfied that it is as much a legitimate part of the Manx Society as literary antiquarianism, or any of its collateral branches. Most of our readers are aware that during the recent repairs

* Remains of the ancient sanctuary at Maughold.

in Kirk Maughold Church, the workmen came upon several interesting relics of the past, which through the zeal and assiduity of the worthy vicar, have been carefully preserved. We are indebted to the Rev. W. Kermode for the following description of them :—'First, a stone discovered in the chancel, containing the figure of an animal resembling the elk, having branching horns,—probably intended to commemorate some old Scandinavian hero of the chase. A somewhat similar animal is said to be occasionally met with on some of the older Scotch and Irish crosses, and is, I believe, technically called an elephant. Second, two beautiful crosses, evidently of very ancient date—probably the tenth century—cut in the common schist stone of the neighbourhood. They were discovered on removing some stone steps, and have been set up against the wall near the old Norman porch. On the lower part of one of these stones, on each side of the cross, are two monkish figures seated, the chair being distinctly traceable in the case of one; whence we conclude they were intended for two bishops—probably St. Patrick and St. Maughold. Underneath these figures on either side, is what appears to be a man on horseback; but unfortunately owing to the soft nature of the stone, it is nearly obliterated. The last discovery is on the lintel over the west door of the church. This has evidently been an old Scandinavian bauta, or memorial stone, as several Runic characters are traceable on the inner edge. These are but a few of what would be brought to light, were an archæological section established.' It was only last week we heard of a Runic stone having been buried by the peasantry near Peel for its bewitching the cattle! Steps are being taken to recover it."—*Manx Sun.*

"Having sent to the Rev. J. G. Cumming a description of the old walls of St. Maughold's Church, and also rubbings of the different monumental stones which have lately been found in and about that church, I received the following reply, which may be interesting to some of your readers :—

"Your account of the square holes* in the old wall of the church are particularly worthy of notice, as they seem to correspond with those in the old church of St. Trinian, with which several antiquaries to whom I have mentioned them, are much puzzled.

"I see a greater similarity between these crosses and the Scotch than any which I have noticed on the island, and this especially is the case with that which has the two monks seated upon it, and also the one bearing a resemblance to the so-called 'elephant of the north-east of Scotland.'"

TRIE CASSYN ON STAINED GLASS.

Letter from the Rev. Dr. Crigan, communicated by Paul Bridson, Esq.

"Sidmouth, 25th Feb., 1857.

"SIR,—Last night's post brought me your queries respecting the stained glass which I some years since transmitted to Mr. M'Hutchin, *when, of course, I in-*

* In most of the old Manx dwellings in country parts rectangular holes or niches similar to those are constructed for domestic convenience, perhaps for penatic purposes of old.—ED.

formed him of whatever I then recollected respecting these interesting fragments. At present my memories of the past are much less clear than they then were, and I took no copy of my letter to the Clerk of the Rolls. I shall, therefore, simply set down what I now remember respecting it. My father (Bishop of Sodor and Man) obtained these relics from the Archbishop of Drontheim, to whom he had written requesting information respecting anything concerning the Isle of Man to be found in the ancient Norwegian archives under his Grace's custody. The Archbishop, in his reply, stated his sorrow at not being able to furnish any particulars of such events, as the church in which such records had been long preserved had been struck by lightning and burned. The stained glass (however preserved) came with this letter.

"I am not sure that I ever read this epistle, but perfectly recollect my father's quoting a passage from it, illustrative of the prelate's urbanity and the classic elegance of his Latinity. As this letter was no where to be found among my father's papers, I think it had probably been sent for the inspection of some persons who omitted to return it."

THE HOUSE OF KEYS.

Almost every volume of Manx history depreciates the Keys, and that honourable House, like the Druids of the Kaylls, ignoring letters, have never deigned to reply to the various accusations brought against them,—a Druidical silence much to be regretted.

1st. The House of Keys have been represented as having had a questionable existence of old,—indeed, as having had none at all in early ages, and certainly there is no record of them till soon after the accession of the House of Stanley in 1403, when they were recognised by statute.

2nd. They are accused as not having been elected by the people, as being self-elect, and therefore never having been the representatives of the third estate.

3rd. Since they are and always have been only nominees of a feudal power, they have no constitutional right to legislate for the people, or to impose taxes upon the country. Such has been the outcry for the last hundred years, and, what is most remarkable, the outcry of the feudal lords themselves; yet in the face of it all, the Keys have existed and prospered, and stood to their duties as constitutional representatives of the people. The natural inference is that the outcry can only have been raised by a section of the people, and by the lord when the Keys acted inconveniently to him, and the outcry has not much shaken the confidence of the people in their constitution.

During the government of the Norwegian kings, who introduced feudal despotism, the Keys doubtless appear to have had a precarious existence, for neither they nor the mystical King Orry are once mentioned in the *Chronicon Mannia;* and the influential men of the isles are often recorded in antagonism to the government of their kings. The House first appears on record soon after the appointment of the Stanleys to be kings of Man, by the king of England, whose best

title to the power of doing this was derived from the people of Man, petitioning for the protection of England and of the English crown. It is clear that Edward I. and the Stanleys in accepting this protectionate, recognized the people and the influential men of Man as having in some degree the right to dispose of themselves, and that in accordance with a love of justice and consistency, they did not attempt to enforce the feudal severity which the Manx had groaned under during the reigns of the Norwegians and the Scots for a period exceeding 300 years. The Stanleys regulated their newly recorded Legislation according to the traditions pointed out by the breast law of the judges from periods antecedent to the conquest by Cronan, and the expulsion of the Orrees. Hence it is evident that the Keys must have had an existence before that conquest, and in all likelihood there existed at the same time also a connexion between this Island and the Hebrides. For in the time of the Orrees, tradition states that the outisles sent eight members to the House of Keys in Man, which sent sixteen, but that the numbers were not necessarily always the same. The incessant insubordination of the Western Isles, under Somerled and his sons during the period of the Norwegians, appears to me to prove that the people never resigned their attachment to the government of the Orrees or quietly submitted to the hard slavery of the early feudalism, which led ultimately to the re-establishment of their early code of laws by the Stanleys, under the more rational feudalism of England. Of course it is impossible to conjecture with certainty in what manner the Keys were nominated during the Orrees days; most probably they were chosen according to the tradition which directed the Governor under the first Sir John Stanley, who out, of thirty-six names returned to him by the *whole* of the commons of Man, selected twenty-four to constitute the House of Keys after the manner it existed in the days of King Orry; since which time civilization and the constitutional success of freedom must have wonderfully increased. There can be little doubt that at the time when every vikingr who visited the Island, and had power sufficient to enforce payment, extorted contributions of some kind from the inhabitants, the advice and protection of influential men like the members of the House, would be esteemed encouraging, irrespective of the form of the election by which they were in office.

The primitive name of this body of men is said to have been Taxiaxis, on what authority or in what age I have been unable to learn. I think it is referable to some old MSS. In modern times, and so far back as our records go, they have been called the House of Keys, or the *kaire-as-feed*, "the twenty-four." Sometimes *claves*,* or the Keys, of the usages and common law of the country. Some Gaelic scholars suppose that the word Taxiaxi may be a compound of the words Tasgid or Taxi, a *keeper* or *preserver*, and Axi or Acci, *inheritance*, and therefore that Taxiaxi means guardians of heritable property. This etymology implies that the Keys are of Hebrideian origin, for we have no such words in the Manx language;

* Statute Book.

on the contrary, I have heard an aged member of the House say that the word was Saxon, and implied "tax, and ax us," rather a quaint expression, but not without some point. In the Manx language the word *keesh* means a tax, a fee, a tribute, a word identical in sound to the modern name of the twenty-four. Keesh or Keys may have superseded the primitive Taxiaxi, from the duty of the House after the introduction of feudalism and arbitrary government having been restricted to the imposition of local tribute upon the people for the royal benefit, a duty which associates their name and their power with obnoxious taxation, but which would increase their influence over the king at a time when the bulk of the population was in helpless serfdom. The Keys are stated to be "the representatives of the Isle" in the Statute Book. The Acts where they are so called does not create them, but recognizes them as part of the Legislature under that name. Therefore, to deny that they are not a legitimate body so long as the existing constitution of the government continues unaltered is not only anomalous but idle and absurd vituperation against a body of men who have it not in their power to alter the constitution.

We must be careful that we do not perpetuate, without good reason, the sentence pronounced against Carthage by Cato, "*Delenda est Carthago*," because she and her vices obstructed the greatness of Rome.

CONCLUSION.

The foregoing Appendix contains some (not by any means the whole) of the historical and the antiquarian evidences which indicate the vast antiquity of some remains of remote ages still found to be in existence in many countries, and I think they also suggest an identity between the Druidic and Punic forms of religion and government, as far as regards the Isle of Man, as well as an affinity of some modern languages to those of the original nations of the earth.—Ed.

FINIS.

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Fig. 1.

Arms of Dominion
Isle of Man
Lord of Man.

Fig 4.

1595.

17 Century.

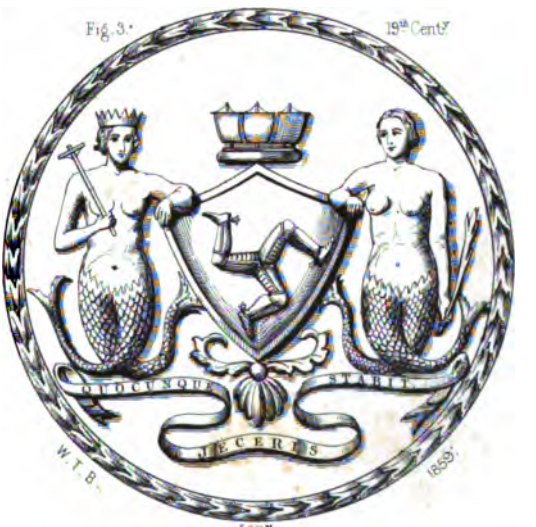
Harl. Roll. A 3. A.D circ 1460

Le Roy de Man.

A Specimen of the Arms of Mann of the XV Century

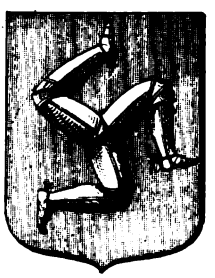
Fig. 3.

19th Cent.



CASTLE MONA.

Fig 6.

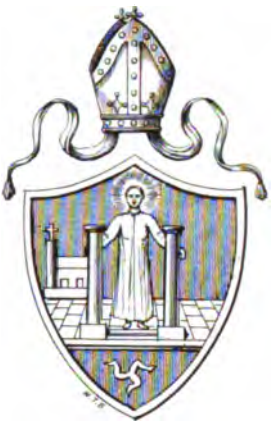


From Imhoff

Fig. 2.

19th Cent.

Fig 1

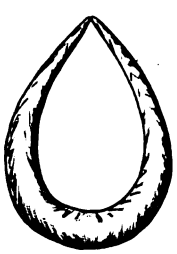


Seal of the Bishopric of Sodor & Mann.
A D 1860

Fig 2

Arms of Rushen Abbey
Founded A D 1154

Fig 4.



Exact size of Earring of pure
Gold found in the Valley of
Grannagh, (Sun) Isle of Man.

Fig 5.

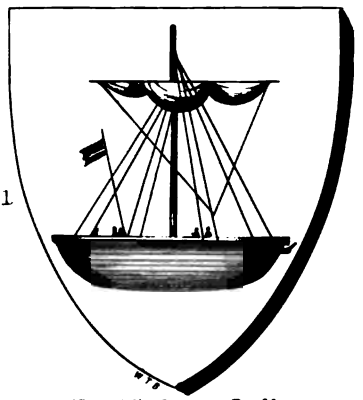
Tracing from a Bead found
at a Tumulus near St Marks
in Malew.

Fig 3.
Add Chart AD 1408

Arms of Christiana Princess of Douglas

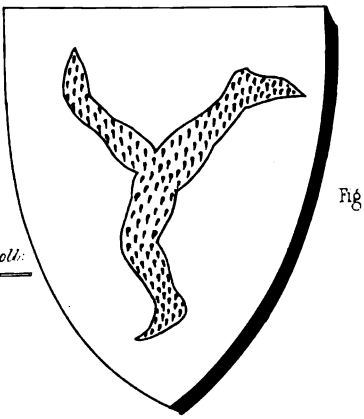
Rex de Man.

Fig. 1



Harald's Ship in Ruff
Sables Restored
Rex Manniæ et Insularum

Fig. 4.



Cott. Roll.

Lescu de gules a treis jambes armez.

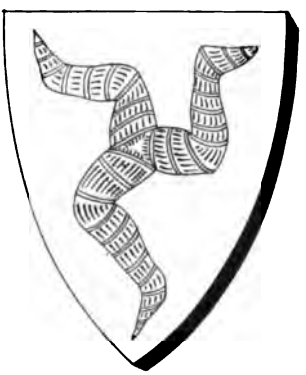
14th Century
circ. 1300

Fig. 2.

Heraldic Galley

Fig. 5.

Arms of Man Temp. Edward I Mss C. Coll. of Arms
FROM PLANCHE'S PURSUIVANT OF ARMS.



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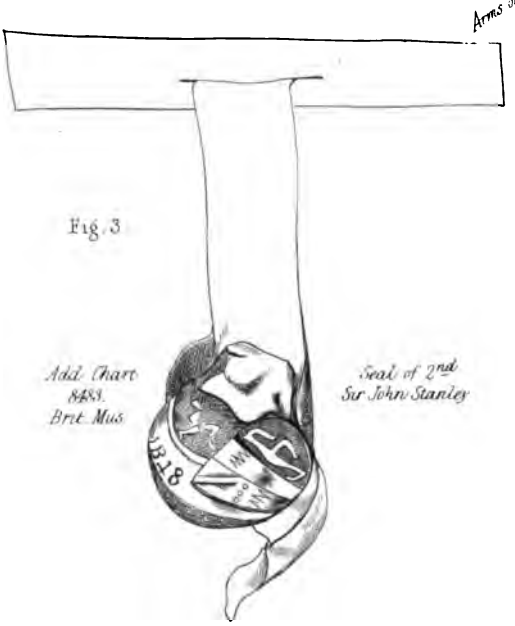
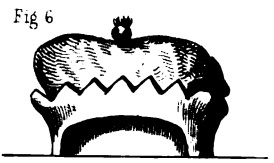


Add. Chart
8483.
Brit. Mus.

Seal of 2nd
Sir John Stanley

A.D. 1423.

Fig 6

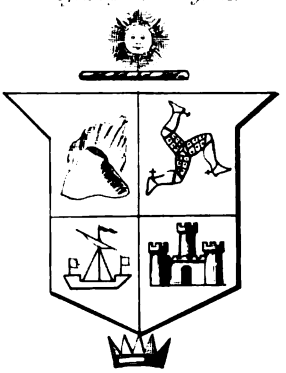


Corona de Insula de Man

Plate 4.
Specimens of Armour.

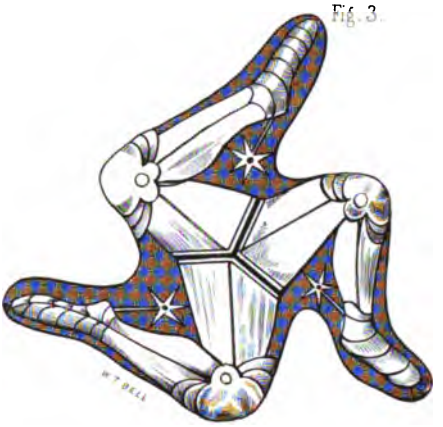
Fig 1

Loisgim agus scilleirghim.



Quocunque jeceris stabit
MACLEOD, OF CADBOLL
Co Cromarty.

Fig. 3.

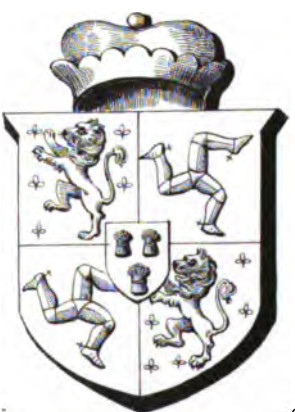


Half-Size of Stained Glass.
St Germains Cathedral

Fig. 4.

From a Tomb in the Chapel at Ormskirk
From Sir Wm Dugdale.

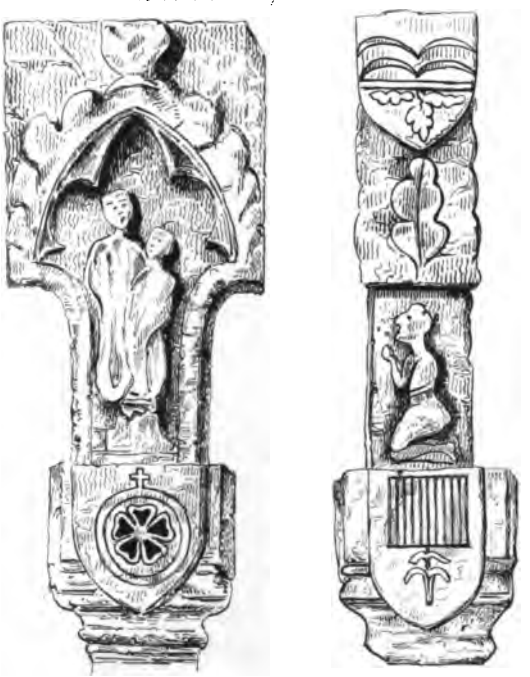
Fig 2



Wen Lord Beaumont Lord of Manend
Lord of right.
Of his wife daughter and heir
Of Alexander Comin Earl of Buquhan.

Fig 1
Reverse front of the Pillar at Kirk Maughold without date or inscription

Fig 2.
Obverse of the Cross at Kirk Maughold front & side of Capitals

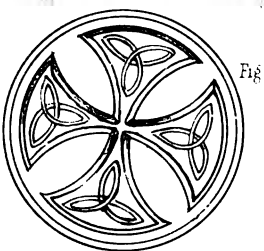


Reverse.

Fig 3
Head of a Runic Cross without inscription

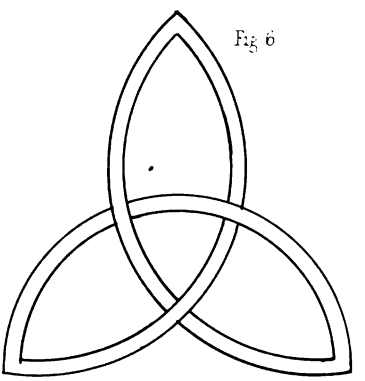
Fig 4.
Head of a Runic Cross at Kirk Michael

Fig 5.



Crescentic Triquetra Cross.

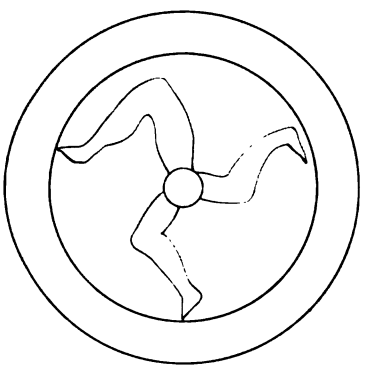
Fig 6



Runic Triquetra

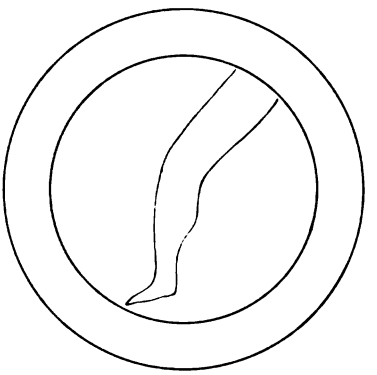
Fig 1.

Back of Etruscan Vase



British Museum

Front of Vase



British Museum

Departure of Hector for Battle

Fig 2.

Etruscan Vase at the Vatican, Rome

Fig 3

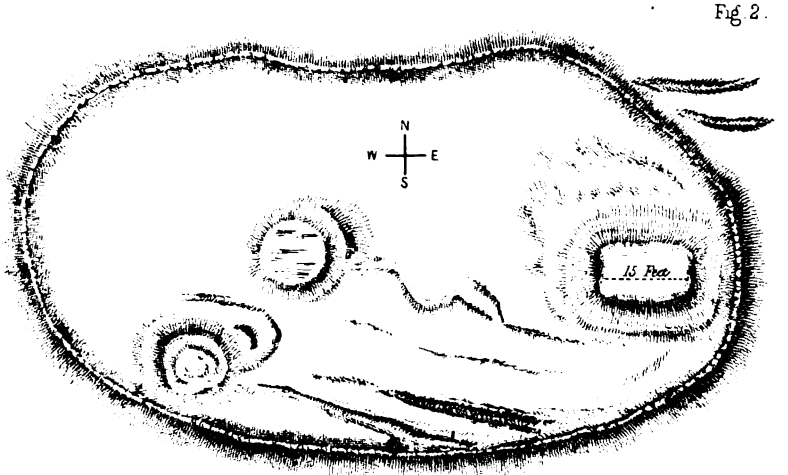
Agathocles of Syracuse

circa 300 B.C.

Fig. 1. Plate 8.

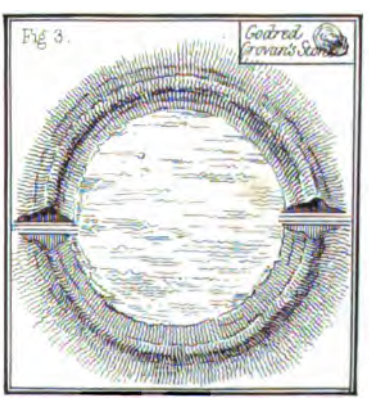
Fairy Hill — Christ Rushen, Isle of Man.

Fig. 2.



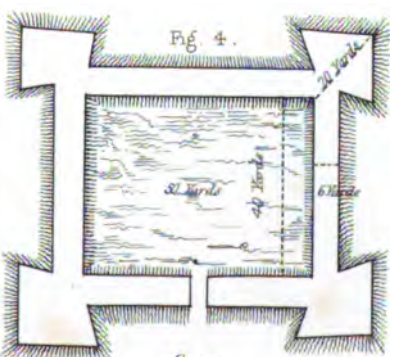
Keeal Vaal Balla Dooi.
Isle of Man.

Fig 3.



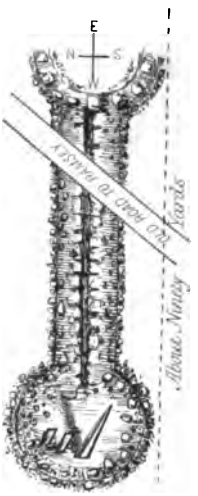
Cilliare Cruyir.
near St Marks.

Fig. 4.



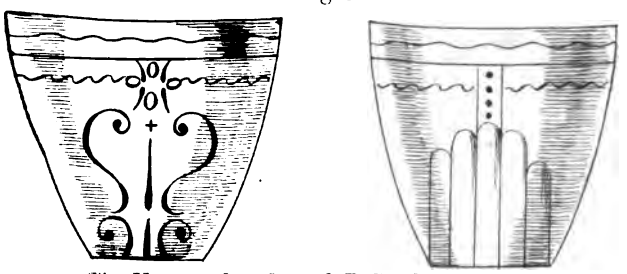
Camp
at Balla Quarry

Fig 1



Harry Orry - Laxey Hill.

Fig 3.



The Manannshee Cup of Balla Fletcher.
(Front & Side Views)

Fig 2a
Ground Plan of
Portion of Ancient Camp at Kirk Braddan
Isle of Man

a - Area of Part of Camp
b - Covered Way 11 Feet broad.
c - Parapet.
d - Ditch.

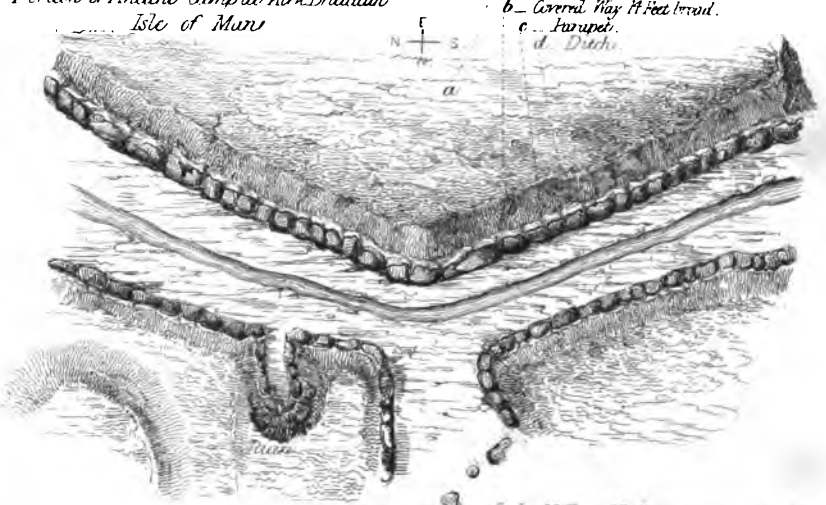


Fig 2b

Enlarged View of Salient Angle of Camp

Fig 4.

Supposed Sacrificial Stone of Balla Fletcher, Braddan
7 Ft 4 In in Length

POSTSCRIPT.

An increase of the "corrigenda" having taken place in consequence of an alteration in the arrangements of the Plates and the Appendix, when the pages were in the press, I think it is necessary to apologize to the reader for it, and to express a hope that the corrections may be duly made.

A public acknowledgment to those gentlemen who have kindly assisted me with the Plates and contributed to the Appendix, having been omitted in the proper place, I now beg leave to return thanks for their highly-esteemed aid.

H. R. OSWALD.

CORRIGENDA.

Page.	*Line.*		
iv,	9,	for Anological,	read Analogical.
v,	23,	Their	... Its.
viii,	20,	Remains,	... Remain.
3,	2,	Was,	... Were.
6,	13,	Crovan,	... Cronan.
18,	9,	Angular,	... Argolic.
21,	2,	Earliest ages,	... Middle ages.
22,	34,	Plate ix,	... Plate vi.
30,	9,	Sister,	... Aunt.
32,	21,	Dumster,	... Dunster.

Page.	*Line.*		
90,	17,	Nearly nine,	read 4½ to upwards of 7 feet at the summits.
113,	13,	Keylls,	... Kaylls.
114,	35,	Fladda,	... Flannan.
116,	3,	Skit,	... Skib or Skif.
128,	2,	Centuries,	... Since 1707.
131,	6,	Latter,	... Former.
198,	13,	Earth,	... Arch.
		... Plate viii,	... Plate *vii.*
		... Plate ix,	... Plate viii.

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